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East Bloc Bankers Confer on Foreign Debt

AU1805131588 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 18 May 88 p 11

[Erich Hoorn report: "'Eastern Debts Are No Problem'; Joint Ventures Gaining Ground"]

[Text] Vienna—Although CEMA's debts have been steadily rising over the past few years and East-West trade has been declining, the Vienna summit of bankers from both camps took place in a good climate. It showed that the traditional forms of trade have reached their limits. Therefore, industrial cooperation and joint ventures are being promoted.

At a press conference at the end of the 2-day banking summit, in which about 130 experts from East and West had participated, Robert D. Hormats, vice president of the Goldman Sachs International Corporation, New York, stated that CEMA's debts are no problem, because the East mostly uses the money for productive purposes. Loans to South America, however, are mostly used to finance consumption. The financial problems in Poland developed because the technology imported on credit was used in an unfavorable economic infrastructure. Today the situation is different, because Poland, too, is pushing ahead with economic reforms.

Janos Fekete, deputy chairman of the Hungarian National Bank, stressed that the loans taken out by CEMA are far lower than those of Latin America. CEMA's economic importance, however, is far greater than that of Latin America. In addition, half of the increase in CEMA debts is because of the decline of the dollar exchange rate, because most of the loans to the East Bloc are calculated in DM, yen, and Swiss francs.

The Vienna banking summit was organized by the Creditanstalt Bank and Credit Lyonnais in cooperation with the International Council for New Initiatives in East-West Cooperation, which has its seat in Vienna.

Fekete said that traditional foreign trade between the two camps cannot be increased all that much. Therefore, industrial cooperation and joint ventures must now be promoted. Hilmar Kopper, member of the board of directors of Deutsche Bank, emphasized that joint ventures cannot solve all problems of the CEMA area.

In a talk with DIE PRESSE, Vazha Dzhindzikadze, chairman of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation in Moscow, stated that the transfer ruble, which is used in intra-CEMA trade, is to be made convertible with the national East Bloc currencies and the East Bloc currencies among each other. [sentence as published] The long-term goal is convertibility of the East Bloc currencies and the transfer ruble with Western currencies. In order to achieve this, economic reforms have to be carried out in CEMA and exports by communist countries have to be promoted.

This year, the International Bank for Economic Cooperation, the clearing center for intra-CEMA trade with transfer rubles, started clearing of so-called "direct relations" between enterprises from the CEMA countries by means of national East Bloc currencies instead of transfer rubles. The transfer ruble continues to be used for deals concluded at the government level.

Tadeusz Barlowski, president of the Handlowy w Warszawie Bank, told DIE PRESSE that his country is trying to come to grips with the debt problem. By promoting exports and braking imports, it has been possible to reach an active trade balance. This is, however, not even sufficient to pay the necessary interests. Over the past 9 years Warsaw has paid $10 billion to service its debts. Poland wants to conclude agreements on long-term rescheduling and "realistic interest rates." The country hopes to receive a World Bank loan by the end of the year.

Army Daily Examines Afghanistan Withdrawal

AU1805170288 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 17 May 88 pp 1,4

[Maria Ivanova article: "The Road to Peace"]

[Text] Six years of intense political and diplomatic activities were required to initiate the settlement of one of the most complicated regional conflicts and finally announce the end of the undeclared war against the Republic of Afghanistan. In their constant efforts to assist the prompt and successful conclusion of the Geneva negotiations that started in 1982, the governments of the USSR and of Afghanistan agreed that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan should begin according to established timetables that should be acceptable for all sides and should be concurrent with the coming into effect of the agreements. In other words, a situation has now been created whose normal development will determine whether the last Soviet soldier will leave Afghanistan and return to his homeland by 11 February 1989.

Naturally, this cannot happen as long as foreign interference in the domestic affairs of the Afghan people has not been totally eliminated, as long as there has been no halt to the attempts made by forces from abroad against the Afghan people's sovereign right to choose the path of their future development, their own ideology, and the forms of their future political system. For as long as 9 years, precisely this interference fanned the military conflict in Afghanistan and prompted the country's legitimate government to appeal for Moscow's assistance. The dispatch of Soviet troops to Afghanistan was accomplished on the basis of all legal and international norms. The Soviet Union has always unconditionally respected the sovereignty of its southern neighbor, and this was convincingly confirmed by the long-standing friendship between the two states. On numerous occasions, the Republic of Afghanistan, in turn, was able to convince itself of the Soviet people's selfless support in the most difficult moment of the country's development. Following the Geneva agreements signed on 15 May 1988, the establishment of preconditions for noninterference in settling the domestic problems of Afghanistan opened up the road of return to the homeland for the Soviet contingent of 115,000 soldiers. For the second time, following October 1986, the Soviet Union confirmed its firm resolve to achieve a political settlement of the difficult Afghanistan problem which caused the loss of over one million human lives. The first stage of the withdrawal, which began 2 days ago, marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the efforts to build lasting peace in the long-suffering country of Afghanistan. The Soviet soldiers are returning to their motherland in the awareness of having fully accomplished their international duty, leaving behind them a free, nonaligned, and neutral state on their southern borders, a state which is reliably protected against any attempts from abroad. Today, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has approximately 200,000 members, while the armed defenders of the revolution (including the army, the people's militia, and the Afghan security organs) number 500,000 men. These are well-trained fighters, provided with a powerful military-technical force, capable of creating favorable conditions for the further normalization of the situation in their country.

Today, when the Soviet soldiers who shared suffering and privations together with the Afghan people are returning to their homes, remembering their comrades who perished in combat, the total lack of grounds for the accusations about Moscow's so-called "expansionist aspirations" becomes increasingly evident. The "proofs" pertaining to the thesis that the Soviet Union allegedly uses Afghan territory as an outlet to "warm seas" sound more preposterous than ever. It is quite obvious that, if the Geneva agreements had been signed earlier, which was exactly what the Soviet Union and Afghanistan were striving for, the withdrawal of the limited contingent would have been an accomplished fact today.

The Soviet soldiers leaving Afghanistan will forever be remembered by a people who, throughout 9 years, fought and defended the integrity of their homeland, because the Soviet soldiers came to their rescue as friends. The blood shed together for a bright future on Afghanistan's territory will represent a solid basis for the consolidation of traditional friendship, for the development of a policy of national reconciliation, which all opposition forces will have to take into consideration. In the Soviet-Afghan joint declaration published on 15 May 1988, the appeal to cease fire and to halt the fratricidal war, as well as to promptly start negotiations was voiced once more. In Afghanistan today, all strata of society, all nationalities enjoy equal political, economic, and social rights; equal labor conditions are provided for everyone so that he may work for the prosperity of his motherland and participate in political life on the basis of a multiparty system. Increasingly active and realistic negotiations are conducted today with representatives of various factions of the opposition for the establishment of a coalition government, in which even the outspoken former opponents of the ruling people's democratic bloc are invited to participate on a large scale. The national reconciliation policy is gradually becoming part of the conviction and behavior of most Afghan patriots who accept it as the only reasonable alternative to the alarming situation in the country. Nevertheless, this exceptionally difficult process has not yet "reached that crucial point, which makes it possible to say that the policy of national reconciliation enjoys the necessary reliable support."

Despite the goodwill demonstrated on numerous occasions by the Soviet and Afghan Governments, the counterrevolutionaries from the "Alliance of the Seven" based in Peshawar are obviously unwilling to take the new realities into consideration, and still have recourse to outdated methods, such as the force of arms. Regardless of the split among various political factions, prompted by the increased appetites for dividing up power, the "irreconcilable" ones rejected national reconciliation, as well as the Geneva agreements, and any compromise whatsoever. All existing opportunities for negotiations, and even for a temporary cease-fire, were categorically rejected. There is even more: Attacks on peaceful civilians and actions against Soviet military units have become more frequent. A large amount of weapons was recently deployed on Afghanistan territory, including special equipment for waging a "war on the road" against the withdrawing Soviet troops. A project to divide Afghanistan and to prepare for civil war is being actively propagated.

The implementation of such intentions, however, will be somewhat difficult, because all Afghan people are tired of the senseless, fratricidal war, because they all long for peace and for a quiet existence. Following 14 April 1988 the possibilities that peace may prevail on the long-suffering Afghanistan territory have greatly increased, and they should not be missed.

Return to Leninist Tradition Seen in USSR

AU1805212588 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 17 May 88 p 4

[Article by Colonel Damyan Atanasov, candidate of philosophical sciences: "The Revival of Leninist Tradition"]

[Excerpts] All-party conferences play a special and very important role in the history of the CPSU. This fundamentally democratic, Leninist form of work is an essential feature of the Bolshevik Party and one of its most effective revolutionary assets. Issues of crucial importance for the CPSU policy, for its strategy and tactics in decisive stages of the revolutionary struggle and of socialist construction have been discussed and decided upon at these forums which take place according to importance immediately after party congresses. Important organizational changes were accomplished, and various opposition and factionary groups were resolutely rejected at these conferences. [passage omitted]

Throughout 47 years no party conferences took place in the Soviet Union. The main reason for the long absence of this democratic form of work whose effectiveness was confirmed by experience, was the process of gradual deviation from the Leninist forms of party life, from collective methods of leadership, and from an open party-wide discussion of the most important issues pertaining to the development of the party and of socialists construction, which began in the thirties. One of most characteristic aspects of past CPSU conferences (with the exception of the 18th) was the sharp clash of widely differing, and sometimes even contradictory, opinions in a frank, Bolshevik, and the same time creative discussion, the victory of the collective mind, and of the democratic principle. [passage omitted]

However, as Comrade Gorbachev pointed out in his report read on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the administrative-command system prevailing within the country's party and state leadership toward the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties began to exert an increasing influence upon the sociopolitical life of the USSR. This system originated from the course of industrialization and was further encouraged during the era of collectivization. It gradually extended, affecting even the super structure, and obstructed the expansion of the democratic potential of socialism, thus halting the development of socialist democracy. The methods applied in the struggle against resistance to socialism, including the methods against the armed struggle of the exploiters' class which had been overthrown from power, were mechanically transferred to the sphere of peaceful socialist construction where totally different conditions prevailed. Under the influence of the erroneous "theory" about the exacerbation of the class struggle in the Soviet Union an atmosphere of intolerance, hostility, and suspiciousness was created. The lack of a necessary level of democratization in Soviet society permitted the emergence of the personality cult, violations of law, and arbitrariness. Great damage was inflicted to the cause of socialism and to the prestige of the CPSU.

The well-known efforts of the fifties and sixties to overcome resolutely the command-administrative methods of management and leadership in social and party life did not produce the expected results. There is even more: By the end of the seventies and toward the beginning of the eighties these methods and the insufficient democratization of Soviet society seriously obstructed the aforementioned development. This is precisely why the process of revolutionary restructuring in Soviet society which began following the 1985 April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th CPSU Congress, pursues democratization in all spheres of social life and the full restoration of Leninist traditions of leadership, life, and work, as its main goal.

There is no doubt that the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference scheduled to open on 28 June 1988 will play an important role in this process which is of vital and crucial importance not only for the Soviet Union, but for all mankind.

Prague Socialist Journal Meeting Discussed

AU1605131988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 13 May 88 p 4

[Article by Prof Gancho Ganchev, BCP representative at the PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM Journal: "In Accordance With Our Time"]

[Text] A regular session of representatives from communist and workers parties to discuss the work of the PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM journalism was held in Prague, in April 1988. The fact that functionaries from 93 parties participated in this conference eloquently illustrates its representative character, and the fact that the delegations were headed by members of their supreme leading bodies, including even general secretaries of some parties, demonstrates its competence.

An extensive and fruitful discussion on all problems pertaining to the further work of the journal, based on a spirit of criticism, loyalty to principle, and good intention, took place at the conference.

The opinion was unanimous that the international communist and workers movement today is involved in an important stage of its development. The problems of peace, war, and social congress, which are dialectically connected with each other, are to be considered from a new angle. A new approach is required as regards the questions of competition and struggle between the two, existing socioeconomic formations—socialism and capitalism. New trends have emerged in the development of monopolist capitalism and imperialism, their economic expansion is broadly developing, and considerable changes have occurred in the social-class structure of capitalist society.

Fundamental, innovative processes are under way in a number of socialist countries, methods are being sought for raising socialist society to a qualitatively new level. The relations between man and society and between man and the environment are changing. In addition to all this, mankind is threatened by the menacing problem: Will things go so far as to reach a thermonuclear conflagration resulting in total annihilation?

All these questions of crucial importance for the forthcoming development of mankind are confronting every communist and workers party, the revolutionary movement as a whole, and also our journal, in particular, with new theoretical problems, with new tasks pertaining to the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle, as the speakers at the Prague Conference pointed out. The journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM must become an eloquent tribune of new political thinking. It should more boldly focus its efforts upon the new theoretical problems and upon an open, problematic exchange of opinions, upon a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the dialectics of the development of our contemporary world, which is shaken by contradictions but is at the same time indivisible and upon the role of communists and progressive forces in this development.

Priority importance should be further attached to the struggle for peace and the struggle for the survival of mankind, which should be waged in dialectical unity with the struggle for social progress. Numerous delegates stressed in their statements that we should attach priority importance to a more detailed study of the theoretical problems pertaining to the world's contemporary development, to the specific nature of the nuclear era, to internal contradictions within our indivisible, but contradictory world, to revolution and evolution in the nuclear era, to the prospects of advancing toward a nuclear-free world. It is also necessary to comprehensively illuminate the results of the first positive trends in the struggle for nuclear disarmament—such as the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty—and the efforts to reduce strategic missiles and conventional weapons. It is necessary to reveal the link between the struggle for peace and the solution of other global problems in our contemporary world—such as starvation, development, foreign debts of the developing countries, introduction of a new economic order, ecological defense, and others. The analysis of such problems and the discovery of effective methods for their solution requires that we should take into consideration the peculiar features of contemporary imperialism, the opportunities for preventing its negative phenomena, as well as analyze the possibilities for the development of the capitalist economy, free of militarism and neocolonialism.

It is particularly important for our journal today to exchange experience regarding the activities of all antiwar organizations and movements—women's, youth, students, economic, religious, and trade union organizations, and to contribute to their merging into a common, powerful, antiwar mass current, which should become the vital cause of all peace-loving forces on our planet. Our journal is called upon most fully to develop the universal, humane, and humanitarian aspects of the communists' activities and to promote their aspirations for cooperation with all peace-loving forces.

The international communist and workers movement, regardless of the negative trends that have emerged in the development of certain parties, still represents the most consistent, revolutionary force today, a force capable of standing in the first ranks and implementing unity and offensive spirit in the struggle of all progress and democratic forces for peace, democracy and socialism. It was pointed out at the Prague Conference that every communist and workers party must determine its own goals, the strategy and tactics of its own struggle. This results in a variety of experience and simultaneously stresses the common, unifying features which transform the communist movement into a unified force. In this respect our journal is called upon to reflect the experience of individual, fraternal parties, their theoretical search and specific actions in their struggle, as well as to contribute to the consolidation of the communists' unity.

The innovative processes today which are taking place in nearly all socialist countries are assuming increasing importance for the activities of the international communist and workers movement, for the consolidation of its influence, as well as for rallying all democratic and progressive forces in the struggle for peace and progress. The task of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is widely to inform the communist and workers' parties, as well as the progressive public about the character and specific forms of manifestation of these processes, especially as regards the problems pertaining to the further expansion of socialist democracy, and glasnost, as well as the forms of self-management in all spheres of social life stemming from socialist democracy. Our journal should uncover the objective and irrevocable character of the aforementioned processes, since they also stem from the essence of socialism as a socioeconomic formation, precisely in accordance with the views of Marx and Lenin.

Italy's Andreotti on Relations, Balkan Affairs

AU1705180088 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian Issue No 20, 16 May 88 p 8

[Interview with Giulio Andreotti, minister of foreign affairs of Italy, with Rumen Mikhaylov, BTA correspondent in Rome: "If We Preserve Peace, Peace will Preserve Us"—date not given]

[Excerpts] At a time when political thinking makes it necessary to search for partners and people who share our ideas, when we are required to open doors to each other and contribute to the democratization of international relations, our journal POGLED is taking advantage of the opportunity to publish different people's opinions and views. To demonstrate this, we publish in today's issue an exclusive interview with Giulio Andreotti, Italian minister of foreign affairs. [passage omitted]

[Mikhaylov] Can you describe the political issues to which you devote most of your time?

[Andreotti] You have to understand that in addition to foreign policy issues, I must pay necessary attention to relations between the political power and citizens, to the work of various institutions in accordance with the development of society, to a more just distribution of civic duties, to the problems of youth, and naturally, to the preservation of family values.

[Mikhaylov] The British journal ECONOMIST compared the successes of Italian economy to the beautiful Tower of Pisa, saying that like this tower, they are built on unstable foundations, meaning the political crisis in your country. What do you think are the reasons for this crisis?

[Andreotti] For several years, numerous self-appointed "doctors" have dramatized the situation in Italy, forecasting on every occasion that the Appenine peninsula had only a few short and painful weeks of life left. Despite all this, we are still alive, and we are even developing. Were people talking about resurrection, (for which there are not many historical examples), or had their forecasts been too hasty? There is no doubt that the comparison with the Tower of Pisa is very appropriate, because this tower is still standing, quietly and peacefully, (I would even say forever) despite all those who have long since wished to see it collapse.

[Mikhaylov] You visited Sofia in 1987. How would you describe the future of Bulgarian-Italian relations today?

[Andreotti] A little more than a year has elapsed since my last visit to Sofia. I think that Italian-Bulgarian relations (officially dating back to 1897—editor's note), are increasingly reviving the traditional intensity of the past and that these relations are based, among other things, on economic cooperation which has considerable potential for development, on increasing contacts at various levels and in different spheres. This is a trend which we are striving for and we will further devote our efforts to its consolidation. We are convinced, as a matter of fact, that Italy and Bulgaria, while still observing the commitments toward the military-political alliances to which they belong, have a common responsibility—both on the European level, and even on a broader scale—namely, worldwide.

[Mikhaylov] Bulgaria is situated at the center of the Balkan peninsula, which is an important area of the ancient European continent. Following the Belgrade meeting of your Balkan colleagues, how do you see the future of our peninsula?

[Andreotti] The recent Balkan Conference in Belgrade was welcomed in our country as soon as its convening was announced. It was considered a major political event, not only because it was the first meeting of this kind in the post-war period, but because Albania also participated in it. From this point of view, the conference marked a considerable step forward which can provide an essential incentive for the all-European process based on dialogue and cooperation. There is no doubt that this conference will be a means for the gradual alleviation of tension in that part of the world. I think that as a result of this event, the future of the Balkan peninsula will be characterized by greater stability than in the past thanks to the contribution of all countries situated in that area, Bulgaria included.

[Mikhaylov] As a politician, how can you describe the basic trends in international relations against the background of restructuring processes in the Soviet Union and the flexibility of its political line?

[Andreotti] International relations today are characterized by a dynamic and promising trend of development, which is the result of the increasing interests of all states in greater stability and in a successful conclusion of the East-West dialogue.

This applies in particular to the disarmament process in which considerable progress was recently achieved, as a result of the pronounced political good will expressed by the two superpowers. The INF Treaty signed on 8 December 1987, and as a result, the commitment assumed by both the U.S. and the USSR Governments to sign a treaty on the 50 percent reduction of strategic weapons (if this becomes possible) at the forthcoming Moscow summit confirm this goodwill. We should not forget the great contribution of the European countries, including Italy, to the consolidation of security.

I would like to add in this context that arms control as a whole seems to have become a subject on which both the Western and the socialist countries have intensified their dialogue, being convinced that the world is too small, and the destructive power of weapons is too strong. Hence, the main attention is focused on the disarmament problem.

Nevertheless, I think that the progress accomplished in this sphere has influenced and continues to influence other areas, such as regional crises (an agreement on the conflict in Afghanistan was recently signed in Geneva), as well as relations between Western Europe and the Soviet Union, and last but not least, the important problem of human rights. These spheres are obviously interconnected, the more so since they will all benefit from the increased desire for dialogue, for flexibility, and a constructive spirit manifested by the Soviet Union and by Mikhail Gorbachev.

In addition to this, we in Italy attach great importance to the positive conclusion of negotiations at the CSCE meeting hoping that all the problems of the three "baskets" discussed at the conference are resolved.

[Mikhaylov] In the preface to the book "Gorbachev's Russia—The New Political Trend 70 Years After the Red October" you pointed out that Mikhail Gorbachev has opened a "new season" in international relations. What prompted you to reach this conclusion?

[Andreotti] I have always been convinced that the election of Mikhail Gorbachev to the leadership of the CPSU was a decisive event, even a turning point. I became convinced of this fact during my Moscow visit in 1985, together with Bettino Craxi, who was prime minister at that time. Even at this early stage, I was impressed by the new general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee as a man firmly resolved to give a powerful, innovative impulse to his country's domestic and foreign policy.

I think that the last 3 years have confirmed my impression, especially regarding Moscow's foreign policy. This policy has changed not only in "style", but has also become more flexible, and manifests itself with remarkable, specific actions. These characteristic features are the basis of the improvement in East-West relations, they produced considerable results, particularly in the disarmament sector, and promoted the beginning of a fruitful political dialogue and a promising East-West cooperation in all spheres.

[Mikhaylov] How can the other states belonging to the two military-political blocs, including Bulgaria and Italy in particular, contribute to the pursuit of the constructive dialogue between the USSR and the United States which started in Washington?

[Andreotti] I think that the United States and the USSR, which are the world's greatest military powers, have an exceptionally great responsibility for the well-balanced limitation of armaments. However, the other countries belonging to the two alliance blocs are vitally interested in the improvement of security on the basis of a continuously falling level of armaments and in the role assigned to them in these processes.

As for Italy, our country, in accordance with the Italian people's traditionally peace-loving spirit, has always been and is still striving to play this increasingly active role within the framework of consultations with our allies, as well as in multilateral negotiations. Let us take the example of those consultations in which Italy is directly involved, such as the negotiations on the total banning of chemical weapons and the talks on the balanced reduction of conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals. In my opinion the most important task today is to proceed toward a reduction of military strike potential by applying an effective and realistic disarmament program, capable of consolidating universal security and mutual confidence, also by new forms of an increasing glasnost.

[Mikhaylov] Precisely at the moment the whole world hailed the 1987 Soviet-American agreement reached in Washington, certain circles in West Europe eagerly began to claim that the defense of this area needs to be "strengthened," since the withdrawal of missiles would allegedly weaken it. Do you not think that such a point of view is an anachronism in our epoch?

[Andreotti] We in Italy have always been convinced that the 1987 Washington treaty has increased strategic stability. Naturally, a certain concern still exists regarding the lack of balance in the sphere of conventional arms which the INF Treaty could not eliminate.

This is why I think that such a lack of balance can be overcome, provided that everyone really tries to promote the positive development of the military-political situation in Europe. This will be the best way of intensifying the East-West dialogue and to increase mutual confidence among people.

We also should recall that to achieve the goals of continuously lowering the level of the balance of armaments, peace, and confidence should be consolidated by developing both the disarmament process and a harmonious cooperation in other spheres of life, such as the humanitarian sector and economic relations, for example. [passage omitted]

PDRY's Al-Bid Speaks to Press, Departs

AU1805125388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 May 88 p 2

["Statement by 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party"]

[Text] We are extremely satisfied with our visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, made at the invitation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, stated 'Ali Salim al-Bid before departing from Bulgaria. We sensed the warmth and friendliness of your people, with whom we have strong links in all fields. In a cordial, friendly atmosphere we discussed with the Bulgarian party and state leadership a number of issues concerning the further development of the relations between the two parties and states. We also examined regional and international issues connected with world peace and security, cooperation between peoples, and other problems of mutual interest.

We briefed the Bulgarian side on the tasks and reforms under way in Democratic Yemen under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party. We were informed in detail on the course of restructuring connected with the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria. I may say that our views coincided and the talks proceeded in a spirit of mutual understanding and solidarity, reflecting the strong links existing between the two parties and countries, stated the eminent visitor.

The meetings with Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the other comrades from Bulgaria's party and state leadership were fruitful and beneficial. A number of agreements were signed, which provided new momentum for expanding the cooperation in party, trade-economic, social, and other spheres, based on common principles and goals. In our talks we also devoted time to regional problems. We dealt with the Middle East crisis and its central problem, namely the cause of the Palestinian people, and also with the Iran-Iraq war and the military imperialist presence in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. We confirmed our support for the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, its right to self-determination, the creation of an independent state, and their participation in an international conference, being represented by the PLO. The need was stressed for the withdrawal of foreign naval vessels from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea and for making peace efforts to halt the Iran-Iraq war.

Finally, I would like to say that our visit to Bulgaria has been a great success, as predetermined by the history and traditions of Yemeni-Bulgarian relations, stated 'Ali Salim al-Bid in conclusion.

Successes in AIDS Research Reported

AU1705191688 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 17 May 88

["Achievement of Bulgarian Scientists in Combating AIDS"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 17 (BTA)—The AIDS virus has been isolated in Bulgaria as well. A test for confirming of the presence of the virus in man has also been developed after a Bulgarian modification. These results were announced today before journalists by Dr Radka Argirova, head of the Central AIDS Laboratory.

"Since in Bulgaria there are only two AIDS patients, we did our research with virus carriers, Dr Argirova said. We tried simultaneously 4-5 methods, already described by American, French and Swedish scientists. As a result of the ten experiments we have made so far, we succeeded in isolating the virus for the first time a week ago from the Bulgarian citizen by means of the latest method used in the U.S. in February.

"What makes this result interesting is, that there is no data about this citizen having been to Africa or having had any relations with people of that continent. Now we have to describe the virus, and what is more important, to see whether it differs or whether it is similar, and to what extent, to the already known viruses. To see, whether when compared with the Italian type, it will not indicate the existence of a specific virus of the Mediterranean region, a region to which Bulgaria belongs. The first tests have shown that in its group specific antigene it fully coincides with the American type."

With this considerable achievement the laboratory has gone beyond the framework of diagnostication work and has embarked upon scientific research and the testing of different medicines.

Husak Signs INF Treaty Inspection Agreement

LD1805164588 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Today President of the Republic Gustav Husak ratified the agreement between Czechoslovakia, the USSR and the GDR on inspections, that was signed in Berlin on 11 December in connection with the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. In this way all requirements necessary for Czechoslovak interior approval were met. This interior approval was ratified the same day in Prague by the GDR Embassy and the USSR Embassy in Czechoslovakia.

According to its Article 7, the agreement will become valid at the same time with the coming into force of the treaty of 8 December 1987 between the USSR and the United States about elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Chnoupek Receives Soviet Ambassador Lomakin

LD1805000088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] In Prague's Cernin Palace today Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, received Viktor Lomakin, the Soviet ambassador. In a cordial and comradely talk they examined some issues concerning the further development of bilateral cooperation and exchanged views on the current international situation.

More on Todorov-Led Bulgarian Delegation Visit

Visits Gottwaldov

LD1705150288 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] The delegation of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by Stanko Todorov, member of the Presidium of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Assembly, paid a visit to working people of the Gottwaldov district today. In the Precision Engineering Works in Gottwaldov they familiarized themselves with the technology of the manufacture of machine tools, which forms about 40 percent of the output of this concern enterprise. The guests also inquired about the use of modern computer technology and the employment of robots.

A discussion meeting took place afterwards in the Cultural House of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement at which the topics discussed included working and social conditions of the employees of the enterprise, recreational and health care and the training of apprentices. Representatives of the district of Gottwaldov also briefed the Bulgarian deputies about the economic and social development of the district.

Received by Strougal

LD1805174688 Prague CTK in English 1606 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Prague May 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here today a delegation of the Bulgarian National Assembly led by its chairman Stanko Todorov, which has been visiting Czechoslovakia since Monday.

The two statesmen informed each other of the course of economic reforms in their countries. They called for the acceleration of the integration mechanism within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and in this context they stressed the importance of the forthcoming 44th session of CMEA in Prague at which a number of crucial decisions are to be adopted.

While discussing bilateral relations, they stated that the implementation of the program of economic and scientific-technological cooperation up to 2000, orientating the two countries towards improving the quality of economic cooperation, will be a demanding but absolutely necessary process.

Meets Jakes

LD1805174888 Prague CTK in English 1645 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Prague May 18 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes received here Wednesday a visiting Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, led by National Assembly chairman, Politburo member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Stanko Todorov.

Milos Jakes appreciated the present development of cooperation and traditional friendly relations between the two communist parties and the two states.

Milos Jakes and Stanko Todorov called for the dynamic development of new forms of economic cooperation, e.g. direct relations between Czechoslovak and Bulgarian enterprises, and setting up joint scientific research teams, according to the long-term program of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria up to the year 2000. They stated that the rate of the international socialist integration and the division of labour between the CMEA states must be speeded up as a needful prerequisite for successful realization of social economic intentions of the two countries.

Received by Husak

LD1805200988 Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Prague May 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak met here today a delegation of the Bulgarian National Assembly led by its chairman Stanko Todorov, currently on an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia.

It was stated during the meeting that Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations have reached a high level and are successfully developing in the spirit of a Czechoslovak-Bulgarian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid.

The two sides also pointed to the usefulness of exchanges of experiences and contacts between deputies of the two countries' legislative bodies for the expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation and thus for the strengthening of friendship between the people of the two countries.

Government Approves Appointment of Bishops

AU1905080488 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0500 GMT 19 May 88

[Text] After 15 years of dispute with the Vatican, the Prague government has now agreed to the appointment of three new bishops. Cardinal Tomasek, 88, will receive two bishops for the Archdiocese of Prague, and the Slovak Archdiocese of Trnava will get one bishop.

In the CSSR the majority of bishoprics have been vacant for years.

Czech, Slovak Governments Concur

LD1905101388 Prague CTK in English 1653 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Prague May 18 (CTK)—The Czech and Slovak Governments agreed today with the appointment of new bishops on the basis of an agreement concluded between Czechoslovakia and the Vatican.

The Czech Government agreed with the appointment of Jan Lebeda and Antonin Liska bishops of the Prague Archdiocese and the Slovak Government gave its consent to the appointment of Jan Sokol apostolic administrator Bishop of the Trnava Archdiocese.

Cardinal Tomasek Urges Church Policy Changes

AU1905095988 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 19 May 88 p 2

[Text] Prague/Vienna—In a letter to Premier Lubomir Strougal, the archbishop of Prague, Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, has expressed his full support for the petition for religious freedom, which has been circulating for months among CSSR believers: "This petition has been started by the Catholics. I have welcomed and supported it because my long-standing efforts to bring about a normal church life have not yielded any results," Tomasek writes. The cardinal considers the more than half a million signatures he has received as an expression of trust in him by the CSSR's Catholics.

The cardinal also refers to various efforts of the authorities to intimidate the authors and signatories of the petition. He himself has also been a victim of the disinformation campaign of the CSSR media, which has been pursued with terms used in the fifties.

The CSSR church policy has been drawn up in the spirit of Stalinist ideology, and this has not changed until now. For 4 decades millions of believers have been subjected to harrassment and discrimination both in education and in their jobs; innumerable priests, bishops, members of religious orders, and laymen have had to pay for their loyalty to their belief with long years in labor camps and prisons, some of them even with their lives, Tomasek recalled in this letter.

According to the cardinal, the use of force to dispel the Bratislava rally for religious freedom in March reflected a crisis in the relations between church and state in the CSSR. This crisis, however, cannot be solved but only deepened by the use of force. Said Tomasek in his letter to Strougal: "We demand a change in the state's attitude to the church. Let us no longer follow the path of confrontation but that of dialogue!

Further on Regional, City CPCZ Conferences

Officials at Conferences Listed

LD1505103588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Regional and city conferences of the CPCZ and the CPSL began today in 10 regions of the Republic, in Prague, and in Bratislava. They are an important political event in the life of the party and the whole of society. Present at the conferences are delegations of the party Central Committee.

In Prague the delegation is headed by **Milos Jakes**, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Other members of the party's Central Committee Presidium head the following delegations:

Ladislav Adamec in the East Bohemian region;

Vasil Bilak in the East Slovak region;

Peter Colotka in the Central Slovak region;

Jan Fojtik in the Central Bohemian region;

Karel Hoffmann in the South Bohemian region;

Gustav Husak in the South Moravian region;

Alois Indra in the North Bohemian region;

Ignac Janak in the North Moravian region;

and **Jozef Lenart** in Bratislava.

Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, heads the delegation in the West Bohemian region.

The delegates to the conferences will evaluate the fulfillment of conclusions of the 17th party congress in the political, economic, and cultural areas and in other sectors of the life of society. In the spirit of the resolutions of the seventh and ninth party Central Committee sessions, they will discuss current tasks of regional and city party organizations and their more decisive approach to restructuring, preparation for the introduction of economic reform and in developing socialist democracy, and the mobilization of the workers for the fulfillment of this year's plan and that of the whole Eighth 5-Year Plan. The conference will direct particular attention to achieving the desirable changes in the content, style, and methods of party work so that it corresponds to the growing demands on the activity of the party territorial organs in solving the tasks of society connected with the speeding up of economic and social development in our country. The conferences will elect new regional and city committees of the party, regional, and city control and auditing commissions. They will also approve resolutions which will set out the main goals and tasks of party organs and organizations and Communists in order to secure the conclusions of the 17th party congress, and the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee in the regions, in Prague, and in Bratislava.

Reporter Lubos Lidicky will now take you to the party city conference in our capital Prague in the Julius Fucik Park of Culture and Rest:

[Lidicky] The city party organization in Prague is no doubt among the largest regional organizations in terms of the number of members. At the beginning of the year it had 156,000 members and candidates. It is a great power and much has been done in the past for its consolidation and renewal, said Miroslav Stepan, leading secretary of the Prague city party organization, in the report. Now we must ensure that this influential force is more perceptible in Prague, so that its true influence and leading role is deepened, so that it stands fully at the head of the processes which are decisive for the development of Prague. For there is still a lot of embarassed waiting around concerning a number of questions, Comrade Stepan said. There are hundreds of organizations wanting to test new forms of management, self-financing, the brigade form of organizing labor and remuneration, but the new forms of work have only begun in a few cases. Prague has no small production potential; it has a strong scientific-technical base, a high concentration of experience, and worker ability. At the same time, Comrade Stepan said, in Prague we also have such factors as a strong concentration of administration, from the center down to individual enterprises. This is why the city conference wishes to express a standpoint on the task of Communists in the economic sector and in the area of the capital development. This is the main battlefield of restructuring, where it will be decided how we will be able to fulfill the strategy of intensifying socioeconomic development in a specific way and thus achieve specific results.

Fojtik Speech in Kladno

LD1605232488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Let us return to the topic of the deliberations of regional and city conferences of the CPCZ. As you know, delegations of the CPCZ Central Committee attended conferences in 12 places. We have already acquainted you with portions of speeches delivered by delegation heads in some of the discussions. We now select from the speech made by Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, to delegates at the Central Bohemian conference in Kladno.

[Begin Fojtik recording] The task of restructuring we have started will require the full mobilization of Communists. The transitional period with which we have to reckon—approximately up to 1991—will no doubt be very complex, even painful, depending on how well we master the skills needed to put into practice the principles of restructuring embodied in the laws on state enterprise and cooperatives, but this is an unavoidable path. We already hear moans in some places, and they obviously will be heard even more often when financial autonomy is implemented fully, when remuneration according to results of work is really in operation. Where the production program has to be changed it will mean retraining the labor forces and implementing transfers according to the labor code, the amendment of which currently is under discussion.

Even at present we face not an easy task: eliminating the middle man, reducing the central management sphere by 30 percent. We say that in our country everybody is given a change—yes, and this is one of the biggest advantages of socialism which we must protect. However, its implementation is linked with many problems, and there will be more and more of them, no doubt. How many people work in places where they are not happy? Or, at least, how many believe their abilities could be much better used in another profession? With the introduction of full financial autonomy there will be greater pressure for utilization of abilities that enable each individual to demonstrate his benefit to society in his work. We would be behaving like ostriches who hide their heads in the sand if we were to refuse to see the complex problems to be worked out in the use of the labor force considering that new, higher demands will be placed on education, especially specialized education, which is already subjected to sharp criticism for not answering the needs of life, and not meeting the criteria of the advanced socialist society we want to build.

We do not focus on unemployment, but problems with the use of the labor force will exist. And it we do not learn thorough lessons from the negative experiences of some socialist countries, then these problems could grow into social tensions. Naturally, we do not want this and must not allow it. How—by abandoning restructuring, reforms? Not at all; but by developing branches into the future, the sphere of services; by creating an infrastructure, an entire tertial sphere; by setting up new, modern productions with services and auxilliary production and so on. Then we will have nothing to fear. On the contrary, this prospect creates a certain pressure for the utilization of the labor forces and, consequently, improvements in workers' qualifications, with, however, corresponding demands for the development of the education system.

We must deal very responsibly with all these issues. An ideological plenum that we are planning for this fall should contribute to their explanation so that the entire society can understand them. We are also preparing a Central Committee session on education. There is plenty to solve here—analysis shows this clearly. And our analysis is inexorable and deaf to the praise we have heard so often from the educational administration staff addressed to its own sphere. It is necessary to appreciate fully the position of schools in our society in relation to future tasks and the role of teachers. A modern school must be well equipped. To be penny-wise in education at present means to condemn ourselves to backwardness and poverty. We say that we are supporters of scientific socialism, but this has to be reflected in our political activity. Every important decision of party organs—and there should be fewer of them—should proceed from an objective analysis of reality, from thorough, constant monitoring of the thinking and mood of the people, their real needs, interests, and values. We must choose the language of resolutions with this in mind and formulate conclusions clearly. We often complain that the social sciences do not help us sufficiently in this work. We must do much more to develop the social sciences and not be satisfied with a low standard of work in that sphere. The activation of the social science front is important, above all for strengthening the concept and program character of our work and overcoming a dangerous tendency toward pragmatism. This development is important also for the exceptionally important task adopted by the party leadership, the drafting of a party program which should be approved at the 18th congress. [end recording]

Hoffmann Speech in Ceske Budejovice

LD1705101188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, led a delegation of the party Central Committee to the South Bohemian regional conference in Ceske Budejovice. His speech in the discussion dealt with almost all the most important spheres of our society. We have selected this part for you:

[Begin Hoffmann recording] Communists in leading posts of the party, state, or economic organs will be made accountable and it will be required of them that they report back on the fulfillment of any specific decision of the party, any work in any section. This is why there should be included at every session of the Secretariat at least one such control point. All ministers, leading regional secretaries, directors, and chairman of party organizations of large enterprises must gradually be made accountable to the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat as to how party decisions are being fulfilled in their area of authority, above all in those sections where serious problems exist. You yourselves know that there are more than enough of such sections.

Such a requirement is naturally true also of regional and district committees, for their presidiums, and for the work of secretaries which should also be an important impulse and help in raising the standard of implementation of the right of control by primary organizations. It is necessary to proceed in this way everywhere—with frank, critical discussions, to democratize, to make more fruitful the discussions of all party organs without exception. This requires at the same time that a chance will be given at meetings to make use of factual comments and to ask direct questions of leading functionaries, to demand that they answer them, and to assess their activity very demandingly. At the same time, party organs have to prepare for the fact that implementation of the new working style in the entire process of restructuring of the economic and social spheres—and obviously also in all the other spheres—will not be at all easy. The search for new ways and solutions, the reassessment of concepts, the directions of activity of managerial structures, the creation of state enterprises, and the dependence of working collectives on the results of their management, the introduction of order in places of work, the assertion of just remuneration according to work done, but also the conditional character of all future social measures and the increase of the standard of living depending on a faster growth of resources—all of this is directly a matter of concern for specific people, their living and working conditions and interests, but also a demand on their work, discipline, and understanding. We cannot therefore, expect that everybody will understand everything immediately, accept and actively support and implement the necessary changes. We have to prepare well for this at all levels of party work, that is, in all party organs so that we can deal successfully with these understandable phenomena.

The party organization, and even entire working collectives, cannot avoid clashes and conflicts if they want to remove the causes of various shortcomings and problems, negative phenomena, consequences of the present management of economy and any unfavorable trends in social and moral relations.

I would like to draw your attention to one more circumstance—as there are around us a number of problems and malpractices—in supplier-consumer relations, in material-technical supplies, on the domestic market, or in the sphere of services—health services, education, transport—which people criticize with justification. The CPCZ Central Committee has decided that some serious shortcomings which are very urgent today and which affect almost all citizens but which can be easily and quickly put right must be solved immediately. We have to show everyday that we are always concerned with people's well-being and that all that which worries them we want to and can solve quickly, whether on the state, regional, district, local, enterprise, or works level—every time according to the nature of the problem. [end recording]

Problems With Elections of Plant Directors

AU1305124288 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 May 88 p 4

[Frantisek Zdobina article: "Argument, Not Demagogy Is Decisive in Electing Directors"]

[Excerpts] Elections are neither a simple nor an uncomplicated act. They evoke clashes of different views, human characters, and sometimes passions, clashes of personal and social interests and of notions that are scarcely related to reality. The first elections of directors have shown that they lack rules, that we have a lot to learn about economic democracy. This learning process is not easy, since once again the science of management is behind the times.

The canceled election of the director of the SIGMA plant in Ceska Trebova has evoked a vehement reaction in the Czech SR (with the aim of sharing experience, most examples cited here are from the Czech SR). Verbal reports turned this event into a sensation, which could be misused as an argument against one of the most important components of restructuring the economic mechanism, and even obscure the predominance of successful elections in a steadily increasing number of enterprises. This is why we want to start with the SIGMA plant....

Ceska Trebova lies in the East Bohemian Region. At the beginning of the year, the local CPCZ Regional Committee (known for its support for all that is new and promising) suggested that 2-3 enterprises or plants in every district should prepare the elections of their directors (and perhaps even of their self-management bodies). However, the districts did not reply unequivocally; several of them replied evasively, obviously according to the proverb: "Prudence is the mother of wit." True, it is good to be prudent, but this should not tempt one to start marking time—we do not have enough time, since the past has exhausted most of it, and the people who are marking time must expect life to overtake and "penalize" them.

The experiment in the East Bohemian Region did not exactly suit the general managements of the economic production unit (VHJ) involved, either. Most of them claimed that they lacked a sufficient number of candidates for the office of director (well, what kind of cadre reserves have they trained?) and that their work collectives lack sufficient maturity (although only a short while ago these were complimented by the general managements in socialist pledges that stressed the collectives' political maturity and willingness to do everything for restructuring). The trade unions, too, were lagging behind the CPCZ Regional Committee's initiative; and, deplorably, certain primary party organizations were not up to par, either. For instance, the party committee in the fire-brick and shale works in Brezina declared that elections in the works were unnecessary, since for the last 10 years they had trained cadre reserves for the office of director. [passage omitted]

Here are a few details about events in the SIGMA plant... The general management of the SIGMA VHJ in Olomouc offered the candidacy for the office of director in Ceska Trebova to five selected people. Three rejected the offer as soon as they heard that they would have to be elected (instead of being appointed), refusing to compete from the start. The other two tried to win the SIGMA working collective's confidence. They introduced themselves and explained (in a number of talks) how they would proceed if they were elected. One of them, engineer B., spoke very energetically. However, it soon became obvious that his enthusiasm had taken the wrong direction. He staked all he had on emotions, criticizing the excessive payments to the state budget (but forgetting to add that they were based on construction under the present 5-year plan and would radically change only via a more pronounced implementation of the law on state enterprises), promising to increase wages for everybody (without making them dependent on effective production), and "proudly" proclaiming his ignorance of the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism now under preparation. His crowning statement was that SIGMA's plan is too high and that he would energetically fight to get it cut down. He asked for an official car for himself, and so forth.

Engineer B.'s candidacy ended as could be expected: the general management of SIGMA VHJ revoked his candidacy and canceled the elections. A new director not only accepted the plan, but (after consulting the work collective) even announced that the plant would raise its annual tasks as a countermeasure!

At the annual meeting of the plant party organization in February, the members self-critically appraised their share in what had happened and made changes in the party committee. The composition of the plant's trade union bodies was also changed. [passage omitted]

Likewise, the organizers must be reminded that, after the elections, they must emphasize that none of the candidates should suffer disadvantages because of their results. [passage omitted]

The course of elections in the East Bohemian Region (and also elsewhere) has proved that the work collectives are reacting positively to the new possibility of electing the director. In fact, people have grasped that this act of profound political significance simultaneously offers them a reliable way of definitely eliminating every kind of patronage, sectarianism, or clan influence in cadre policy. True, we cannot exclude demagogy from prevailing in some places, as was the case in the SIGMA plant—but this will be only temporary, since the implementation of economic accountability and self-financing, together with their impact on the calculation of economic results and the creation of wages, will test all promises and separate the grain from the chaff. [passage omitted]

Auditing Chairman Hajn Gives Speech

LD0505222288 Prague Television Service in Czech 1406 GMT 5 May 88

[Speech by Jaroslav Hajn, CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission chairman, at a rally held in the Palace of Culture in Prague to mark the 43d anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, dear friends, young people: The year 1945 was one of the most important milestones of our modern history. With the coming of May that year, the national liberation struggle by the Czech people against Hitler's occupiers came to a climax. Barricades erected in Prague became a symbol of antifascist resistance by the whole Czech nation, its democratic conviction, its longing for freedom, and its courage to purge the moral ignominy of the betrayal of Munich. The liberation of fighting Prague and our entire homeland by the glorious Red Army brought the years-long antifascist struggle of the Czechoslovak people to a successful end, restored the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic, brought peace and freedom to our nation, and created favorable conditions for their future development on a new people's democratic foundation.

At the same time, the world was celebrating the victory over German fascism, the architect of the most destructive war in the history of mankind. It was the Soviet Union that bore the decisive share in the destruction of fascism. None of these historical facts can be changed, for they are generally known, recorded; and any attempts to falsify them are doomed to fail. The heroism of Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, the heroism of our liberators who saved Prague and hundreds of thousands of our citizens from annihilation, literally during the last hours of the occupation, will never be forgotten. We also remember with great respect and gratitude the underground members of the domestic resistance movement, the victims of Hitler's prisons and concentration camps, participants in the Slovak national uprising, partisans and fighters on the barricades, and members of the Czechoslovak Army Corps who fought fierce battles on the march from Sokolovo to Prague, as well as soldiers who fought against fascism on other World War II fronts.

We express our gratitude to all the heroes of the antifascist fight and the honest work for further progress in the socialist homeland, which was greater than words can express, however sincere and warm they may be. Their sacrifice and example, everything they have done for the Republic, for social progress, will forever be the yardstick for efforts, not only by our generation but also all future ones.

The May uprising by the Czech people, the liberation of Czechoslovakia, and the period of fight for socialism is a permanent source of learning and inspiration for us today. Like our predecessors in the second half of the forties, we are directly tied to the successes of the revolution by new deeds, and we are learning to work in the changed conditions of class struggle. As they did in their time, we also see the key to settling today's problems as lying in the close link between the party and the working people, and in most soberly assessing the rate of further progress. We, too, have a reliable supporter in the USSR, and along with the USSR we strive to secure the primary condition for any progressive advancement—that is, the preservation of peace.

Comrades, the wide strata of the Czechoslovak people connected their own great hopes with national liberation. The attainment of these hopes depended on whether the national and democratic revolution would be brought to its conclusion. This could not be achieved in any other way but by its further developing and growing into a higher type of socialist revolution.

On the basis of confidence that the party won in the eyes of the working people by its principled stance at the time when the Republic was in jeopardy, by its selfless fight against Nazism and the occupation, it became the leading force in the national and democratic revolution. Therefore it was able—despite the resistance of the bourgeois right wing—to bring through the consistently democratic character of the Kosice government program.

More than one struggle, however, had to be waged for its implementation, for the primary orientation of the Republic. Our party had a very complicated job to tackle, which was made more complicated by the fact that the argument between the two basic lines took place in the conditions of the heavy heritage of capitalism, war, and occupation. Problems like the economic backwardness of entire areas, disorganized national economy, industry one-sidedly concentrated on military production, worthless currency, the shortage of foodstuffs and consumer goods, rationing, and the need to populate the border area had to be tackled fast. The progress of the revolution depended on the way it was done and with what prospects.

The party in this situation insisted very consistently on the implementation of the Kosice government program, on what it had agreed with the representatives of the antifascist section of the bourgeosie at the end of the war. Day by day it was shown more and more clearly who was impeding the postwar renewal and building of the new Republic and who was truly doing something for its development. The bourgeoisie and its accomplices were sabotaging the Kosice program and the subsequent program for construction declared by the Gottwald government, while the Communists set an example by their work. People understood what was at stake here, and that was why they went along with the Communists. The February Victory of the working class emerged from the historic experience of our people.

The restoration of national liberty and state independence in May 1945 created prerequisites for the subsequent transition to socialist revolution. In February 1948 the question of who would prevail was finally resolved in favor of the working people. The way was cleared for our nations to build socialism. If we look from a distance of time at what enormous successes have been achieved along this road in a historically short period we can say boldly that the CPCZ has kept the word which it gave to the people in 1945. Socialism has eliminated poverty, unemployment, insecurity, and sharp social and class differences. It has guaranteed basic human rights, the right to work and rest; it has provided security for people in sickness and old age. It has enabled them to assert their talents and capabilities. It has provided them with new prospects both at work and in their lives. The bourgeoisie was stripped of its privileges and the position of the working people in society was changed fundamentally.

The border areas were repopulated, and political, economic, and public life was fully restored there. By tackling the nationality issue in a socialist way differences in the economic, social, and cultural standards of our nations, which had arisen from history, were overcome. By building a powerful socialist industry, by industrializing Slovakia, and by collectivizing agriculture and turning it into large-scale production, enormous and totally new values have been created in our country, which form a firm base for the enduring growth of both private and public consumption and social guarantees, general educational standards, broad access to culture and development of the sciences.

Today this is all taken as something natural, but for all generations of workers, farmhands, small farmers, and even for a part of the intelligentsia, all this was a great achievement of revolution. Our party was able to reach its goal despite the fact that its ranks had shrunk during the occupation, and many of its best members were murdered. Its policy was carried out mainly by comrades who were learning, as it is said, in action. They were working with great zest, with real enthusiasm for the cause, quite selflessly. They put themselves fully under the party discipline as a matter of course, and voluntarily, and therefore they won.

Let me appreciate their selfless work on this occasion, and also the work of the founding members of the united farming cooperatives and hundreds of thousands of people standing outside any party, or members of other political parties and mass organizations who devoted their might for the active building of socialism, and thank them sincerely on behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Central Committee of the National Front. [applause]

Comrades, progress is never straight-lined, and this is even more true about revolutionary progress. Revolution always follows a path which has not yet been explored. Its vanguard cannot avoid mistakes and errors, however much it tries. Nowhere in the world are there leading political forces which never err. The words of Vladimir Ilich Lenin about individuals applies also to policy and to parties, with relevant adjustment. I quote: It is not the one who never commits an error who is wise. There are no such people, and cannot be. A wise person commits errors which are not substantial, and is able to rectify them easily and fast. To be able to admit a mistake openly, reveal its cause, analyze the situation in which this mistake was made—this is a feature of a party which takes its role seriously. End of quotation.

The changeover from capitalism to socialism—this is a very complicated and difficult path which pressupposes not only basic and multiple changes in the mechanisms, but above all in the thinking of the people, their attitude to work, and to each other. It cannot outflank continuous search, rectification of errors and clashes with opponents, and also with self-indulgence, routine and inertia.

Comrades, at the end of the fifties and the beginning of sixties the task to build the foundations of socialism was fulfilled in our country. In building it, significant successes were achieved through the work of our people, and thanks to the selfless assistance of the Soviet Union. All was not, however, success, for we had to overcome many objective obstacles, and certain mistakes and errors were also made, tendencies to get ahead of the development and instances of violations of socialist laws. Despite this our society forged ahead. Its economic potential grew and living standards were stabilized, although not at such a pace as envisaged. The party gradually overcame negative phenomena. The inconsistancy in tackling them, subjectivism and voluntarism, however, created in our society economic difficulties and political tension.

This situation, owing to the weakness of the then party leadership and the influence exerted by the right-wing and antisocialist forces, resulted at the end of the sixties in a serious political crisis. The party resolved that crisis and overcame it. Its new leadership, by its 14th congress, began a period during which our society recorded an undoubted advance in all aspects.

At the end of the seventies important changes took place in the world economy, which were reflected unfavorably in our national economy. We did not fully appreciate them and also failed to bring to a successful end some of our good intentions. At that time we failed to discern that the administrative and directive forms and methods of management of the economy began to be an obstacle in its further development. We were not consistant in changing over to the intensive method of management, in applying scientific and technological knowledge in production. The pace of our economic development slowed down gradually for that reason.

The conclusions drawn at the 17th party congress about the necessity to speed up economic and social development, which were made more specific and developed further at the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee in particular, in terms of the concept of the comprehensive restructuring of all areas of public life of our country, are a manifestation of the party's strength and ability to admit mistakes and errors.

Comrades, restructuring is a revolutionary process which, by the greatness of its tasks and aims, is fully comparable with the period during which national and democratic revolution grew into the socialist revolution, and with the building of the foundations of socialism. The essence of the revolutionary process during the forties and fifties lay in speeding up social development, and its outcome was a new quality—a republic, which was just both ethnically and socially, in which independence and security was guaranteed by the alliance with the Soviet Union.

Restructuring also aims at the new quality of socialism. The aim of the strategy of the 17th congress is not only the settling of the accummulated problems and removal of the shortcomings, but above all the implementation of the program of far-reaching revolutionary changes in both infrastructure and superstructure, the implementation of the changeover to the intensive advancement of the national economy, of the organic linking of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution in the interest of attaining a new, qualitatively higher standard.

We have started with restructuring in order to speed up our economic and social advancement, to make use of all advantages and possibilities of socialism for raising the material and cultural standard of the people, and for increasing the attractiveness and international authority of socialist social system.

In the spring of 1945, when the CPCZ became, for the first time, a governmental party—and in this way took over a share of responsibility for the development in the country—it became clear that without visible achievements in the economic restoration of postwar Czechoslovakia the political part of the Kosice governmental program would not be sufficiently attractive for the wide strata of the population. Therefore the party concentrated on help to the national economy, and it used simple, but clear and striking slogans: Put the wheels of production into motion. More work to the Republic—this is our campaign. These slogans have not lost their urgency today, either, although at a different level, because we are able to implement our far-reaching designs only if our national economy creates sufficient resources for them, and if it increases substantially its performance and efficiency. Therefore the economy continues to be in the center of attention of our policy.

The implementation of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and restructuring are communicating vessels. It is unthinkable to take one without the other. Comrade Jakes, general secretary, speaking at the ninth Party Central Committee session said, I quote: In our time the key prerequisites are being created for a successful start of restructuring. This requires getting rid of rigid views on many issues, to overcome attitudes used in the extensive way of management. A different course would lead to stagnation, to the growth of crisis-ridden phenomena in the economy and in the other spheres of public life. We cannot let anything like that happen. End of quote.

The direction defined by the ninth session requires bold decisions, a principled approach and revolutionary discipline, the firm will to attain the objectives set, strictness in respect of oneself, and great level-headedness. Society will benefit enormously if our governments—the federal and the national ones—set an example to all by beginning to work, guide, and manage in a new way; if workers, technicians, and managers in enterprises and plants set themselves rigorous aims in innovation and give their products a high quality worthy of the national tradition of the skillful and gold hands of the Czech people; if they strenuously look out for room for improvement in production consumption and remuneration, rapidly meet the demands of the internal and foreign market, and unreservedly put an end to manufacturing goods destined only for the warehouses; if they continually ask themselves not what do we have to produce and how many, but how are we going to produce them, why, and what will the material costs and social results of the product be. There is perhaps no greater offense against socialism than poor-quality work and inefficient production. Unfortunately, many of us still do not understand this. In this context, what is at issue today, just as it was between May 1945 and February 1948, is everything: the social justice we fought to achieve, our national freedom, and the possibility of working and living contentedly, in calm and in peace.

Comrades, we do not hide the fact that the process of restructuring cannot be accomplished without very dedicated work, that it will be very complicated, and that it will not produce its results overnight. Therefore, all of us everywhere must realize where its main element lies. Now that we have worked out a clear program and are taking the necessary measures to activate the party ranks, the main element of restructuring lies in the task of convincing and winning over the people so that they espouse the strategy of speeding up socioeconomic development as an issue that concerns them directly.

The period between May 1945 and February 1948 also provides a lesson for us in how to achieve this. Then, in May, the party won over the clear majority of the Czechs and Slovaks into the unalloyed political mainstream of the national liberation struggle. Subsequently, of course, differentiation took place along the lines of different class interests, but the CPCZ continued to retain the support of a substantial portion of the working people. That happened because the party managed not only to demonstrate that its program was realistic, but also to stimulate the people's political and work activity. We remember very well that the revolutionary transformations established by the Kosice government program and by the policy of the Gottwald government were so dynamic precisely because the efforts of the party leadership and progressive ministers were multiplied by strong pressure from below, from the rank and file of the people.

The party realized that hidden in people is great energy and initiative. The only thing was to channel it and to know how to work with people, to stand at their head, and Communists can only stand at the head of the working people, Klement Gottwald stressed, if they concern themselves daily with their affairs, if they live and breathe along with them, if they know in detail their difficulties and worries, the party's mass influence does not mean that the majority of the working class must be organized in it. It does mean, however, that the majority of the working class sees their party in it, that they adopt its slogans, guide themselves by its appeals and see in it their leader. This was the case at that time and it also applies today that the party cannot make people understand its policy by mere agitation and propaganda, but that to bring this about, working people must convince themselves of its correctness by their own experiences.

It was not fortuitous that the resolution adopted at the ninth session of the party's Central Committee underlined that to create a favorable climate for successful realization of the prescribed intentions is one of the basic directions of the party's activity in the period ahead. If such a political climate is to become reality the party, governments, trade unions, and ministries must not underestimate anything that might appear at the first sight a small matter but that often literally agitates people. We have found out already hundreds of times that the questions that affect the lives of millions of people rank among the big policy issues. The confidence of the masses in our party rises or declines in accordance with the way we approach them. Health care, housing, supplies, the expansion of services and development of culture and environmental protection have always been a sensitive political barometer and will continue to be so in the future.

Our citizens take very careful note of how socialist society looks after their daily needs, and they return this care in their work. This is why the 17th congress and the 9th session of the Central Committee stressed the close connection between the economic program, its social results, and the deepening of socialist democracy.

A lot depends on the support of all leading officials, all grades, for the hard-working and honest people who have concepts and initiative. This should be not only verbal but in real terms—in cadre policy, in moral appreciation and material reward—and should include protection from all middle-of-the-roaders, loudmouths, and careerists. The atmosphere needed for the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th congress will not be created without a firm struggle against formalism and red-tape and in particular the eradication of egalitarianism.

If we really want to achieve change in the performance of the national economy, in modern technology, in quality and husbandry, we must not overlook any means of appreciating every outstanding or good piece of work. On the contrary, we must have the courage to hit out in a moral and material sense against the people who work poorly, carelessly, or without interest. Egalitarianism in any form anywhere disturbs the attitude of the people to their work, undermines order and discipline, and obstructs the spirit of competition; it violates the elementary principles of social justice. Eliminating egalitarianism will be a hard struggle, but without a victory in this battle we shall never reach the key changing point in the growth of labor productivity.

Comrades, we are entering a period when the old administrative-directive system is finishing its life and the new is still not fully operative. Therefore, all leading officials on all levels of political leadership and state economic management must make decisions responsibly and in a well-informed way and go to see people in their working collectives even more than at present, because this is the place where we shall find common sense. Let us remember the principle emphasized by Gottwald that the party, its officials, and activists must not only teach the working class but also continue to learn from it. He always asked himself before every important decision: What will the workers say to this? The views of the workers helped him become orientated on complicated political problems. He never missed an occasion to speak to workers and listen to them. He saw behind every design of the party, every decision of its bodies, a worker as a man with a family, needs, moods, hopes, views, experience.

For him the working class was not a mere political instrument, a mere force capable of moving the wheels of history. This and in no other way is how Gottwald understood Leninist policy expressed in the slogan "facing the masses." This is also how the party's Central Committee understands it today. This is how its 7th and 9th sessions demand and push it through distinctly.

Comrades, the reforms we have begun must be introduced very responsibly; their results must be assessed continually, and appropriate conclusions must be drawn from them. They must neither be temporary or unprepared, but with sobriety the party approached the preparation of the socialist revolution and in the middle of the forties had the prerequisites for the transition to socialism, with the political climate here very favorable to the ideas of socialism after the liberation by the Soviet Army. The party did not immediately come up with a program of socialist construction. It did not want to skip any stage of development. It continued to try to preserve the dynamism of the revolutionary process. As soon as conditions were ripe it mobilized the people for struggle, for new, increasingly deeper revolutionary transformations. It reacted readily to the needs and interests of all groups of the working people. It answered every subversive action launched both by domestic and foreign enemies with new revolutionary deeds. We must take this as an example today.

Comrades, all successes we have achieved up to now have sprung from our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, from the closest cooperation between the CPCZ and the CPSU. We are grateful to the Soviet Union not only for the liberation from the shackles of fascism. The Soviet Union was always our moral and political mainstay during the decisive days of February 1948, during the period when we were building the foundations of socialism, and during the period of the political crisis at the end of the sixties.

We are now inspired by the Soviet experience of restructuring: We are adopting the highest forms of mutual economic cooperation in founding joint enterprises and scientific-production associations. We are governed continuously by Gottwald's slogan: With the USSR for eternity and never in any other way. [applause]

The attitude to the USSR will continue to remain the criterion of loyalty to the principles of proletarian socialist internationalism. Here too, however, deeds must mean more than words. [applause]

All new tasks that the current times confront us with will be fulfilled by us only if peace is preserved. If the preservation of peace was one of the main conditions for building the base of socialism in Czechoslovakia in the first decade after the war, averting nuclear war and limiting arms is a condition for the survival of mankind. We could never be grateful enough to the USSR for its tireless effort for peace, a world free of war and weapons.

The consistent peace policy of the USSR follows from the class essence of the socialist system. [applause] Therefore, there is a direct path from the Soviet decree on peace to the current Soviet peace offensive. We fully support it, as does our successful foreign political initiative. The Czechoslovak appeal for the creation of a zone of confidence and cooperation, of good-neighborly relations between Warsaw Pact states and NATO has evoked a large and positive response around the world. [applause]

The establishment of such relations creates a necessary base for the peace movement, for a new reality that helps obstruct the designs by all aggressive forces.

However, it is impossible to fail to see, despite some positive trends in international policy, the mobilization of the extreme anti-Soviet and antisocialist forces in the capitalist world. They are concerned about jeopardizing the profit made by the military-industrial complex from arms. They are worried by the fact that everywhere in the world the USSR and socialism are being increasingly linked and that doubts have been thrown on the enemy image that imperialist propaganda was pushing on people for years.

A number of important factors, however, operate in favor of peace and disarmament in the camp of our class enemies. The threat of a nuclear catastrophe, which would affect all nations; ecological danger threatening the whole world; social and international consequences of scientific and technological revolution; the aggravation of global problems; the necessity of international cooperation in tackling them; and the continuous movement in the developing countries; all this is having an influence on the differentiation of the forces in the capitalist world.

The ever-growing authority of world socialism is, however, the most important factor of averting a nuclear war. Peace is asserted not through wishes and words, but through real shifts in the balance of forces in the world. This is why the restructuring in the Soviet Union, in our country, and in the other socialist countries, and as a result of it a substantial increase in the economic power of socialism, will have a decisive influence in the international political arena. The more so, therefore, Lenin's words, delivered in 1921 at the end of the 10th All-Russian Conference of the party, apply, when he said: Today we are influencing international revolution chiefly through our economic policy. The struggle on a world scale has been transferred to this battlefield. If we resolve this task we shall then have won, certainly and finally, on an international scale.

Comrades, new frontiers of social progress are not reached either automatically or easily. Throughout our society we are going through a process which sometimes has sharp edges. It is a process that is often painful and imbued with considerable conflicts, but which is in every respect essential both for our society and for each of us. With the awareness of a high degree of responsibility before our people we will strengthen our all-round fraternal bonds with the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, whose 19th All-Union Conference we wish full success. [applause]

We will translate the resolutions of the 17th party congress into actions with the same thoroughness and political courage with which our predecessors fought against fascism, and with which they proceeded in developing revolution.

Honor and glory to the fighters for the freedom of our people and our nations. [applause] Long live our friendship with the Soviet Union, without which there would not be a free Czechoslovakia or socialism in our country. May this friendship grow stronger. [applause] Long live the leading force in our society, the CPCZ. Long live socialism and peace.

Leaders' Public Appearances 3-9 May

AU1205134288 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 4 to 10 May report the following public appearances by CSSR leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

The first day of the ninth session of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 3 May—which was chaired by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and addressed by Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier—was attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Gustav Husak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR president; Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech SR; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Slovak SR; Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council; Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Central Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committee; Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravia CPCZ Regional Committee; Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Miroslav Zavadil, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council; Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. (RUDE PRAVO 4 May p 1)

The same day in Prague, Miroslav Zavadil also met with foreign trade union delegations that attended May Day festivities in Czechoslovakia and Frantisek Hanus received Petr Zamora, general director of the Ore Mines and Magnesite Works economic production unit, on the latter's 60th birthday and presented him with the Order of Victorious February. (RUDE PRAVO 4 May p 2)

Milos Jakes, Lubomir Strougal, Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Alois Indra, Ignac Janak, Josef Kempny, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, Miloslav Hruskovic, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Zavadil, Mikulas Beno, Frantisek Hanus, and Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, attended the second and closing day of the ninth session of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 4 May. (RUDE PRAVO 5 May p 1)

The same day in Prague, Bohuslav Chnoupek also attended the reception of a Japanese Liberal Democratic Party delegation, led by Shintaro Abe, by Gustav Husak. (RUDE PRAVO 5 May p 1)

Josef Kempny and Ladislav Adamec presented several scientists and artists with the "National Prize of the Czech SR" in Prague on 4 May. (RUDE PRAVO 5 May p 2)

Jozef Lenart and Peter Colotka were present when Lubomir Strougal presented Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, with the Order of Labor in Prague on 4 May, on the occasion of Sterba's 50th birthday. (RUDE PRAVO 5 May p 2)

The same day in Prague, Jozef Lenart also attended the closing session of the Eighth Congress of the Czechoslovak Union of Antifascist Fighters. (RUDE PRAVO 5 May p 2)

Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Alois Indra, Josef Kempny, Jozef Lenart, Josef Haman, Miroslav Zavadil, Mikulas Beno, and Frantisek Hanus attended a "festive gathering" in the Prague Palace of Culture on 5 May, held to mark the 43d anniversary of the Prague Uprising and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. (RUDE PRAVO 6 May p 1)

Vladimir Herman attended a reception given by Yakov Perepechenov, USSR general consul in Brno, in Brno on 5 May to mark the 43d anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. (RUDE PRAVO 6 May p 1)

Vasil Bilak received Gennadiy Yagodin, chairman of the all-union leadership of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society and USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education, in Prague on 5 May; Yagodin headed the Soviet delegation to the celebrations of the 43d anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. (RUDE PRAVO 6 May p 1)

Frantisek Pitra attended the annual conference of Communists of the Western Military District at an unspecified location in South Bohemia on 5 May. (RUDE PRAVO 6 May p 1)

Ladislav Adamec attended a "solemn act" in Prague on 6 May, during which Milan Kymlicka, minister of culture of the Czech SR, presented letters of appointment to 41 new "meritorious artists" from the Czech SR. (RUDE PRAVO 7 May p 2)

Vratislav Vajnar, CSSR minister of interior, presented state awards to several employees of the CSSR Ministry of Interior in Prague on 6 May. (RUDE PRAVO 7 May p 2)

Ignac Janak, Peter Colotka, and Miloslav Hruskovic attended a reception given by Petr Kostikov, USSR consul general in Bratislava, in Bratislava on 6 May, on the occasion of Victory Day. (RUDE PRAVO 7 May p 2)

Milos Jakes, Lubomir Strougal, Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Alois Indra, Ignac Janak, Josef Kempny, Jozef Lenart, Josef Haman, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Zavadil, Mikulas Beno, and Frantisek Hanus were among the guests at a reception given by President Gustav Husak at Prague Castle on 9 May, on the occasion of the CSSR national day. (RUDE PRAVO 10 May p 1)

Peter Colotka attended the opening ceremony of the 41st Peace Cycle Race in Bratislava on 9 May. (RUDE PRAVO 10 May p 1)

Vladimir Herman attended the conference of the Brno municipal party organization in Brno on 7-8 May. (RUDE PRAVO 10 May p 2)

Josef Kempny led the CPCZ Central Committee delegation to a festive rally of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR, held in Milovice on 7 May to mark Victory Day and the 43d anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. (RUDE PRAVO 10 May p 1) The delegation also included Frantisek Hanus and Vratislav Vajnar. (Bratislava PRAVDA 10 May p 2)

Fischer Arrives on Official Visit to Austria

Holds Talks With Mock

LD1805163388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1116 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Vienna, 18 May (ADN)—The foreign ministers of Austria and the GDR, Vice Chancellor Alois Mock and Oskar Fischer, conducted official talks in Vienna today on a range of international questions and on bilateral relations. The dialogue between the ministers reflected the high level of mutual understanding and trust in relations between Austria and the GDR.

The foreign ministers signed a working program on GDR-Austria cultural and scientific cooperation for the years 1988-91. It regulates in detail exchange, cooperation, and joint projects in the area of science and research. It foresees guest theatrical performances and the exchange of art exhibitions.

Cultural, Scientific Accord Signed

LD1805173788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1545 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Vienna, 18 May (ADN)—The foreign ministers of Austria and the GDR, Vice Chancellor Dr Alois Mock and Oskar Fischer, conducted official talks on Wednesday in Vienna on a wide range of international questions and on relations between the two states.

The ministers signed a working program on cultural and scientific cooperation between Austria and the GDR for the years 1988 to 1991.

In speeches at a dinner honoring the GDR foreign minister, both ministers praised the high measure of agreement in the efforts for disarmament and detente.

Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer was received in the afternoon by Federal President Dr Kurt Waldheim.

In the foreign ministers' talks, in which GDR Ambassador Klaus Wolf also took part, it was agreed that relations between Austria and the GDR are marked by mutual understanding and trust and are at an excellent level.

That was expressed in the regular political dialogue just as much as in the extensive trade and economic exchange, which has been developing for years to the mutual advantage of both states. Oskar Fischer and Alois Mock underlined the growing importance of cultural and scientific-technical cooperation in shaping of bilateral relations.

The foreign ministers stressed the concurring interest of their states in strengthening the process of detente and continuing efforts toward disarmament, which have received clear encouragement with the INF Treaty. This first real nuclear disarmament treaty must be ratified without further delay. Foreign Minister Fischer expressed the hope that the U.S. Senate will not ignore the corresponding appeal from President Reagan. He explained the GDR initiatives for promotion of trust and disarmament in central Europe and briefed his guest on the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones to take place in Berlin in June.

The Austrian foreign minister underlined his country's interest in the progress of the disarmament process from the standpoint of its nonaligned position. He agreed that it is necessary to further work toward an agreement on halving the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States. Such an agreement will also stimulate disarmament efforts in other weapons categories, for example in a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, which is also supported by Austria.

Oskar Fischer and Dr Alois Mock stressed the interest of their countries in finishing the Vienna CSCE followup meeting with substantial results as soon as possible. The CSCE process has proved itself to be indispensible for conflict-free cooperation, to the benefit of all mankind, between states in Europe. Dr Mock said that Austria will continue, within the framework of the neutral and nonaligned CSCE participant states, to actively work for a positive conclusion to the follow-up meeting.

Other topics of the foreign ministers' exchange of opinions were the role of and possibilities for the United Nations organization in solving the burning questions of mankind, and in particular, preparation for the third UN special disarmament meeting.

The Austrian foreign minister gave a briefing on the policy of his country toward its neighbors as well as in relation to the EC. Dr Alois Mock declared that this policy is based on Austria's neutral status and is directed toward strengthening the existing political stability in Europe.

Received by Waldheim in Vienna

LD1805202988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1832 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Vienna, 18 May (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer was received at the Hofburg in Vienna today by Dr Kurt Waldheim, federal president of the Republic of Austria.

He conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were reciprocated by the federal president.

The two politicians praised the good state of bilateral relations and advocated their further deepening. It was noted with satisfaction that in the basic issues of peace preservation, disarmament, and the continuation of the process of detente, the two states propounded identical or similar views. To make the disarmament process permanent it is important to promote as far as possible the positive trends emerging in international relations.

The two sides advocated an immediate ratification and realization of the treaty between the United States and USSR on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles and of an early agreement on the 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons. European security and cooperation will be lastingly strengthened through the start of negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. Oskar Fischer referred to the GDR's initiative for the creation of nuclear- and chemical weapon-free zones in central Europe as a step toward the elimination of all means of mass destruction.

Federal President Waldheim stressed that his country will continue to pursue in the future an active policy of neutrality and thus make a contribution to understanding, balance, and stability between East and West. In the interests of strengthening peace and security, Austria resolutely supports an end to the hostilities in the Gulf region and the settlement of the conflicts in the Middle East and other regions by exclusively political means. The federal president praised in this conneciton the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, in whose implementation Austria is also involved within the framework of the UN group of observers.

Sindermann Meets Belgian Parliamentary Hosts

LD1805213288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1732 GMT 18 May 88

[Excerpts] The GDR People's Chamber delegation, led by Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, met today at the Belgian Parliament in Brussels with their hosts Charles Ferdinand Nothomb, president of the Chamber of Representatives, and Senate President Lambert Kelchtermans. [passage omitted]

This evening, the presidents of the two chambers of the Belgian Parliament hosted a dinner in honor of the People's Chamber delegation. In his toast, Senate President Lambert Kelchtermans said: "Like us, you are also interested in promoting lasting peace, which should become reality not only in the European region but also worldwide. That the GDR will not let this challenge pass has been credibly proved by its policy, under the guidance of the GDR head of state, Herr Erich Honecker." He said that in addition to political actions, the expansion of relations in the economic sphere also contributes to world peace.

"Our visit," Horst Sindermann said in his reply, "continues the good traditions of dialogue betwen our parliaments and countries." A world war twice emanated from Germany, and both times Belgium was among the victims. "This is why one can understand that the basic principle of our Constitution today is that war must never again emanate from German soil. If we take history seriously and draw lessons from it, then the safeguarding of peace is the most urgent present task."

Talks With Parliament Members

LD1805175088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1110 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Brussels, 18 May (ADN)—The delegation of the people's supreme representation of the GDR, led by Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, met today in the Belgian Parliament in Brussels with their hosts, Charles Ferdinand Nothomb and Lambert Kelchtermans, presidents of the Chamber of Representatives and of the Senate, respectively.

During the talks, which were conducted in an open atmosphere, Horst Sindermann explained the GDR's attitude toward the basic questions of international politics and presented a survey of the GDR's contribution to the preservation of peace and the promotion of detente and disarmament. He referred to the visits by Wilfried Martens to the GDR and Erich Honecker to Belgium, high points in bilateral relations, which were marked by continuity. This is proof that states belonging to different systems and military blocs can cooperate profitably and conduct a dialogue.

It is a matter of exploiting, in the interest of mankind, every opportunity to eliminate nuclear threats. The GDR has followed this policy in its proposal for an international meeting for nuclear-free zones. What is important is a discussion, as wide as possible, of differing views. In this connection Horst Sindermann repeated the invitation to participate in this meeting.

Charles Ferdinand Nothomb, president of the Chamber of Representatives, thanked him for this message of peace and stressed that a positive tendency is discernible at present in East-West relations. The longstanding relations of the parliaments of Belgium and the GDR have also proved themselves in times of international tensions. Belgium follows a policy directed toward peace and supports security through alliances, dialogue, and detente, transcending the bloc barriers. The visit of the People's Chamber delegation will provide extensive opportunities for an exchange of ideas on the meeting in Berlin, in which Belgian parliamentarians will certainly participate.

At the conclusion of the talks with the presidents of the two chambers, the People's Chamber delegation had the opportunity for a brief viewing of the buildings comprising the Belgian Parliament.

Then Horst Sindermann and the People's Chamber deputies accompanying him had a lively exchange of views with the Parliamentary group chairmen of the parties represented in the Parliament. Horst Sindermann presented a brief survey of the GDR's domestic and foreign policy. He stressed that in the great questions of world politics, there is agreement with the views of the broadest political forces in Belgium. This agreement must be maintained and used for the improvement of the climate between East and West, primarily in Europe. The spirit of confrontation is outdated in the present world. Europe must be one home, in which all can cooperate profitably.

Honecker Meets Spanish Employers Official

LD1805134388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1028 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 18 May (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, held talks on Wednesday with Jose Maria Cuevas Salvador, president of the Spanish Confederation of Employers' Organizations (CEDE).

Erich Honecker praised the good level of relations with Spain and expressed the GDR's interest in deepening relations for the benefit of both states and peoples. The GDR sees in this a constructive and useful contribution to further improving the situation in Europe. The GDR views Spain as an important partner in cooperation. In spite of differing systems and alliances, they agreed on numerous points in politics, economics, and culture. The most important of these is that both states support peace, disarmament, and constructive international relations. Mutually advantageous trade is of great importance for promoting peaceful coexistence of states and peoples. Trusting political dialogue creates the necessary framework for this.

President Cuevas Salvador expressed his confederation's desire and intention to intensify economic relations with the GDR. The forthcoming visit of the GDR State Council chairman to Spain will be a good opportunity for further developing relations. The president stressed the joint interest in preserving peace as the basis of mankind's continued existence, and also emphasized the importance of successful business activity and development of international trade. In this regard, one can rely on Spanish employers to support all measures preserving peace.

Erich Honecker and Jose Maria Cuevas Salvador underlined the increasing stability of economic relations between the GDR and Spain.

Regular contacts between foreign trade officials and the activity of the GDR-Spain mixed commission, or the committee for promoting trade between the GDR and Spain under the leadership of the CEDE president, has a positive influence. Both partners in the talks support further developing available economic potentials for the benefit of both sides.

They agreed that trade and economic cooperation can only prosper in peace. Its preservation is the central task of mankind. In the nuclear age, peace and security can no longer be guaranteed against each other, but only with each other.

Erich Honecker pointed out that the GDR hailed, as did Spain, the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as a milestone of historic significance. He called for prompt ratification and realization of the agreement in order to permit no loss of pace in the process of disarmament. The GDR expects from the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow new steps toward real disarmament measures, particularly in the direction of a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, under strict adherence to the ABM Treaty, and toward the banning of nuclear weapons tests and chemical weapons.

The opportunity provided by the successful start of nuclear disarmament must be used to make the process of disarmament and detente lasting and irreversible. The international meeting for nuclear weapon-free zones in Berlin in June is also committed to this aim and has found a broad echo in world public opinion. More security and trust in international relations benefits all states and peoples and particularly their economic cooperation.

Taking part in the talks were GDR Minister for Foreign Trade Dr Gerhard Beil, State Council Secretary Heinz Eichler, and Ingo Oeser, acting director of the West Europe Department in the Foreign Ministry.

Taking part on the Spanish side were Alonso Alvarez de Toledo y Merry del Val, Spain's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR; CEDE Vice President Fernando Gimeno; and Enrique Kaibel, president of the State Association for Machine and Equipment Manufacture.

Honecker Telegram to SFRY's Dizdarevic

AU1805154988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 May 88 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulations to the President of the SFRY Presidency"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency:

Esteemed Comrade Dizdarevic:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, and on my own behalf I convey to you most cordial greetings and congratulations on your election to the high office of president of the SFRY Presidency.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my conviction that the traditionally close relations of firm friendship and overall cooperation between the GDR and the SFRY will continue to successfully develop in the interest of peace and socialism and for the benefit of our states and peoples. Rest assured that the GDR will continue to actively contribute to this development. I wish you, esteemed Comrade Dizdarevic, creative energy in your responsible work, good health, and well-being, and I wish the friendly peoples of the SFRY much success in further shaping the socialist society.

Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Pact Foreign Ministers' Meeting Evaluated

AU1805135888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 May 88 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "Mandate of the Allies for USSR Peace Mission"]

[Text] The meeting of Warsaw Pact foreign ministers in Berlin on Friday [13 May] must be assessed as an important contribution to the struggle to strengthen peace, to continue the disarmament process, and to improve the international situation. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze briefed his counterparts in the GDR capital on his preceding Geneva talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, which had taken place in preparation for the Moscow summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

The ministers who had gathered expressed their states' full support for the USSR's attitude adopted in the negotiations with the United States. The most important result of the foreign ministers' meeting in our capital was, as Erich Honecker pointed out during the reception for the comrades from the fraternal countries, that, as in the past, the Soviet Union can rely on the mandate of its allies in the upcoming negotiations in Moscow.

The Warsaw Pact member states are working purposefully to implement their peace program, which offers constructive solutions to all problems concerning the peaceful coexistence of the peoples and is aimed at the globe's liberation from all nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons. This goal was also pursued during the foreign ministers' discussions in Berlin, which proceeded in a fraternal atmosphere. The peace program of socialism, which was recently adopted by the Berlin meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, exerts without any doubt a beneficial influence on the international climate.

As Erich Honecker stated, the first successes in disarmament encourage all who want peace and disarmament to proceed along this path. The committed work of all forces of reason is and continues to be indispensable in view of attempts to delay the coming into force of agreements that have been concluded or to "compensate" their effect. The foreign ministers from the fraternal countries expressed the hope, shared all over the world, that the negotiations between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan will lead to substantial agreements on the 50 percent reduction of strategic weapons and on other questions of disarmament in the bilateral sphere.

The GDR is doing everything possible to contribute to the success of the Moscow talks between the CPSU general secretary and the President of the United States. Erich Honecker briefed the foreign ministers of the fraternal countries on the preparations for the international meeting on nuclear-free zones, which will take place in Berlin shortly after the Moscow summit and for which more than 750 representatives from over 100 states have announced their participation. This impressive forum of representatives from all continents will without any doubt provide positive impulses for the continuation of the disarmament process, and for peace and international security. The result-oriented dialogue in the service of peace must continue until the danger of a nuclear inferno has been banished and lasting security has been ensured for all peoples.

Navy Chief Meets USSR Counterpart

AU1805162488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 May 88 p 5

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—On Monday [16 May] Fleet Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, USSR deputy minister of defense and commander-in-chief of the Navy, received a delegation of the National People's Army, headed by Vice Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, GDR deputy minister of national defense and chief of the People's Navy, for a talk in the Moscow Defense Ministry. The National People's Army delegation is paying a several-day visit to the USSR.

USSR Prosecutor General Departs 16 May

AU1805133788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 May 88 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—A delegation of Soviet procurators headed by USSR Procurator General Aleksandr Rekunkov ended its week-long visit to the GDR on Saturday [14 May]. During their stay, the visitors familiarized themselves with the GDR's experiences in strengthening socialist rule of law and in increasing legal responsibility. They conducted talks with GDR General Prosecuting Attorney Guenter Wendland in Magdeburg Bezirk on the public prosecutors' offices' contribution to protecting the socialist national economy from losses by damages or fire, on the protection of socialist property, and on further measures to ensure the protection of personal rights and citizens' interests. In the Ernst Thaelmann Heavy Machinery Construction Combine in Magdeburg they were briefed on the activities of the conflict commission in enforcing socialist laws and in carrying out legal training.

The Soviet visitor was received by Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership. During the cordial meeting, Werner Eberlein reported on the efforts by the bezirk's working people to implement the tasks set by the 11th SED Congress, which are directed toward further strengthening socialist rule of law and at ensuring order and security.

Aleksandr Rekunkov also had a friendly exchange of views with Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of justice, and Dr Guenter Sarge, president of the GDR Supreme Court.

GDR-USSR Friendship Group Holds Congress

Mueckenberger Address

AU1805165188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 May 88 p 3

[Report on speech by Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society, at the 13th Congress of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society in Berlin on 14 May: "Jointly Safeguarding Peace on Our Planet; Erich Mueckenberger Submits Report of Central Executive Committee"]

[Text] The 13th Congress of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society [DSF] is taking place in a decisive year of domestic and foreign policy, President Erich Mueckenberger pointed out in the report by the Central Executive Committee. "It is marked by the successful peace offensive of the socialist community of states and by its vigorous efforts to continue the disarmament process that has been initiated. By implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress, the peoples of the GDR and USSR, in alliance with the other socialist fraternal peoples, are making a decisive contribution to safeguarding peace, to ensuring the well-being of the people, and thus to further increasing the influence and attractiveness of socialism."

Assignment of the First State President Has Been Realized in the GDR [subhead]

The speaker described it as an important task of the organization to steadily contribute to further deepening the unshakable friendship and firm alliance with the Soviet Union. Erich Honecker's speech at the SED Central Committee meeting with the first kreis secretaries in Berlin in February serves as a mobilizing program of action for the organization. It met with the general approval of the more than 6.3 million DSF members and triggered many new initiatives during the preparations for the congress.

"At the annual general meetings and at the kreis and bezirk delegates' conferences, citizens from all classes and strata, as members of our friendship society, expressed in thousands of statements their willingness and intention to contribute with rich initiatives and through increasing activity to helping to further strengthen the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. The Central Executive Committee assesses this as a reflection of living socialist democracy, which prevails in our country and is being steadily improved."

With a view to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, it is necessary to purposefully increase the organization's political efficiency, Erich Mueckenberger stressed. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the great October socialist revolution, the DSF members contributed to propagandizing the development of the Soviet Union into a socialist world power of peace. The 40th anniversary of the founding of the friendship society was also used to impart the history, the traditions, and the ideals of our friendship to the citizens, particularly to the young generation. "Through its work our generation contributed to turning the friendship with the Soviet Union into a matter that is dear to the hearts of our people, as the first GDR president, Wilhelm Pieck, set out the task 40 years ago," the speaker pointed out. This contribution was highly valued through the awarding of the Karl Marx Order, which was presented to the society in 1987 by Erich Honecker.

The efficiency, attractiveness, and continuity of the political and cultural work of our organization among the masses increased though dedicated work in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, the president emphasized.

Partnership Is Beneficial to Both Sides [subhead]

As Erich Mueckenberger pointed out, the breadth and many-sidedness of the friendship that has been experienced—of encounters, exchanges of views, and experiences with Soviet friends—have increased. Among other things, the friendly meetings with members of the Soviet Army and encounters with Soviet tourist groups testify to the good relations. This partnership is beneficial for both sides.

Also from the organizational-political point of view, the society has taken on a favorable development. The good balance sheet is primarily a result of the great commitment of the society's functionaries and active members, of the joint actions by all parties and organizations united in the National Front, and of the people of all classes and strata.

The history of the GDR, of the socialist German worker-peasant state, cannot be separated from the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition and its driving force, the Soviet Union, over the brown plague. This act of liberation has created the conditions for a profound turn in the history of the German people and of Europe, represented by the founding of the GDR 40 years ago. The object for which hundreds of thousands of fighters against fascism and imperialist war gave their lives became a reality. This great deed of the Soviet people and its glorious army under the leadership of the CPSU will never be forgotten.

The GDR-Soviet Friendship Society has irrevocably been established among our people for all time. It is one of the outstanding revolutionary achievements. In the GDR, the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society is laid down in the Constitution. As an element of the Constitution it has characterized everyday socialist life for decades.

Friendship with the Soviet Union includes above all the joint struggle to prevent a nuclear inferno and the joint struggle to bring about secure peace for all people on our planet, Erich Mueckenberger stressed. This friendship is inseparably linked with an offensive, uncompromising fight against anti-Sovietism and anticommunism.

The report pointed out the multifaceted political and cultural activities of the friendship society, including forums and roundtable talks, activities by the 196,289 DSF collectives, festivals of the Russian language, the annual "DSF Weeks," and some 22,000 events in our republic's 26 DSF houses in Berlin. The central DSF house in Berlin at the Kastanienwaeldchen is doing examplary work in dealing with the increased interest of DSF members in basic political questions of our time.

In over 56,000 basic units or departmental groups, the members are making contributions in all areas of social life to further strengthening the friendship. About one-fifth of the members are young people. Erich Mueckenberger said it is important to purposefully continue the favorable development in the basic units and in all spheres, particularly in areas where direct cooperation with the Soviet Union is involved.

Lenin's Ideas Characterize Our Work [subhead]

We continue to consider it our supreme task to further present a living picture of the friendly country and to further deepen the friendship between the GDR and the Soviet Union, the president pointed out. The society considers its primary obligation to be the strengthening of the unshakability of this friendship. In spite of the hostile ideologies disseminated in the West, the unstoppable rise of the Soviet country to a first-class socialist superpower is being propagandized, and the peoples have embarked the road to socialism for the first time in history. The significant speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at a festive event marking the 40th anniversary of the great October socialist revolution, which drew a broad response in the GDR, is a good basis for depicting the glorious history of the Soviet Union.

Referring to the tradition of the friendship, the speaker pointed out that 70 years of KPD's and the 40 years of the GDR's existence are inseparably linked with 7 decades of friendship of the best forces of the German people with the land of Red October.

The ideals of the founders of the DKP, the courageous pioneers of this friendship and cooperation, have been realized in the first socialist worker-peasant state on German soil. The impressive balance sheet our people is able to present after 40 years of development in the socialist state fills us with strength and courage to solve great and complicated tasks, the speaker stated.

Erich Mueckenberger pointed out: We will continue to depict clearly what the GDR has achieved under the leadership of the party of the workers class in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as in cooperation with all progressive and realistic people all over the world. We will demonstrate what has been accomplished through our people's industrious work, what we have achieved on the way from the material and intellectual destruction of World War II up to the present.

The president referred to the positive balance sheet concerning the developments after the Eighth SED Congress and added: With our work aimed at continuing to shape the developed socialist society we want to demonstrate that we allow ourselves to be guided by Lenin's principle according to which labor productivity is the ultimate decisive factor for the victory of the socialist social order.

Socialism—This Means Security and Protection [subhead]

On the basis of facts, the friendship society will propagandize the living content of socialist democracy in the German worker-peasant state and the humanism inherent in socialism, and prove the following: It is socialism that offers desirable prospects, social security and protection, whereas mass unemployment continues to rise in the capitalist system, where hundreds of thousands, even millions, are turned into social outcasts, where terms such as new poverty have become a reality, and where homelessness and cuts in social benefits are increasing while the monopolist profits, particularly in the arms industry, are rising at the same time.

In our socialist state, in accordance with the slogan "Work Together, Plan Together, and Govern Together," all citizens are granted the same rights and opportunities for democratic participation, the speaker stated. On the basis of the unity of economic and social policy all citizens benefit from what has been achieved. We do not only talk about human rights, we exercise them in daily life through our policy aimed at the safeguarding of peace and the well-being of the people.

Message to Honecker

AU1805195288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 May 88 p 3

[Message from the delegates to the 13th Congress of the German-Soviet Friendship Society in Berlin to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council: "Friendship With Deep Roots and Traditions; Greetings Message From the Delegates to Erich Honecker"]

[Text] Dear Friend and Comrade Erich Honecker:

The delegates and guests of the 13th Congress of the German-Soviet Friendship Society [DSF] have received the greetings message from the SED Central Committee, signed by you, with cordial thanks and unanimous agreement.

The high appreciation for our society's work which was expressed by the SED Central Committee will be an encouragement and a commitment for the members of our friendship organization to also advocate in the future—as a loyal comrade-in-arms of the SED—the implementation of the party's decision with all its strength.

At the 13th congress we successfully took stock of the political and cultural mass work of our friendship society since the 12th congress, and discussed the further tasks in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress.

In this context, your important speech to the first secretaries of the SED kreis leaderships on 12 February 1988 is and has been the guideline of our actions.

The decisions of the 13th DSF Congress at the same time established our program of action for the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KPD and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

These anniversaries will be an occasion for us to show the successful development of our worker-peasant state in 4 decades of close cooperation and solidarity with the Soviet Union, to make people aware of the roots and traditions of German-Soviet friendship, and to cooperate in passing on the idea of friendship from generation to generation.

Henceforth also, an important concern and commitment of the DSF members will be to convincingly explain the constructive peace policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist fraternal countries, and to prove the inseparable unity of socialism and peace. The fact that a turn for the better is beginning to appear in the world, on account of the initiated disarmament process, gives us important impetus in this respect.

In our political-ideological organization, even more importance will be attached to promoting the new dimensions, to the contents and perspectives of scientific-technological and economic cooperation with the USSR, especially in the field of key technologies.

We consider that mobilizing our members—particularly in the German-Soviet friendship collectives—for high-level performances in implementing the plan targets and the tasks agreed upon by our two states, is a high political commitment.

The DSF will continue to attach great attention to promoting the unstoppable rise of the Soviet Union to a supreme socialist world power and to conveying a lively picture of the efforts of the Soviet people in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

We will use the comprehensive opportunities of various meetings with Soviet friends that result from the high level of relations between the GDR and the USSR so that even more citizens will be able to experience this friendship.

We affirm the DSF considers its most important aim, also in the future, to be to do everthing possible, under the leadership of the SED and together with all the social forces united in the National Front, to further deepen the friendship between the GDR and the USSR, and to strengthen its steadfastness.

Dear Friend and Comrade Erich Honecker, at the platform of our 13th congress, on behalf of all our members in the party leadership, we express most cordial thanks to the bezirk and kreis leaderships, and the leaderships of the SED basic organizations, for the great attention and support which they always grant to our friendship society.

With socialist greetings,

Erich Mueckenberger

On behalf of the delegates and guests of the 13th DSF Congress

Presidium of the DSF National Executive

President:

Erich Mueckenberger

Vice President:

Heinz Kuhrig

Presidium Members:

Dr Rudolf Agsten, Valery Fischmann, Dietrich Freitag, Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach, Gerald Goetting, Prof Dr

Heinrich Homann, Prof Dr Lothar Kolditz, Joachim Krebs, Peter Krueger, Dr Klaus Kurz, Dr Guenther Maleuda, Brigitte Mottner, Ursula Raurin-Kutzner, Jutta Schneider

Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission:

Erwin Heidenreich.

USSR's Avgust Voss Speaks

AU1805201888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 May 88 p 3

[Report on speech by Avgust Voss, chairman of the National Executive of the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR, at the 13th Congress of the German-Soviet Friendship Society in Berlin on 15 May: "The GDR's Voice Is Highly Respected All Over the World; Avgust Voss Conveyed Greetings From the Soviet Union"]

[Text] The delegates received with cordial applause the fraternal greetings from the Soviet Union, which were conveyed by Avgust Voss, chairman of the National Executive of the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR. He referred to the recent 43d anniversary of the smashing of fascism and the liberation of the German people. The Soviet people highly appreciate the historical fact that the GDR's citizens have always borne in mind the act of liberation by the Soviet people, their Communist Party, and their armed forces, which opened the way for establishment of the socialist German state. "We, too, think with deep respect of the German antifascists and resistance fighters who self-sacrificingly fought against Hitler's tyranny."

Today the cause of socialism is safely advancing on German soil, Avgust Voss underlined. The world public knows that the GDR is a politically stable and economically prospering socialist state. Its voice is highly respected in the solution of important international problems.

"The present generation of Soviet people, the heirs to the great victory over fascism, is linked with the GDR's working people in an indestructible friendship," the speaker said.

Wide Perspectives of Cooperation [subhead]

With the volume of their economic, scientific-technological, and cultural relations, the USSR and the GDR are each other's most important partners. The permanent exchange of experiences in socialist construction, and the utilization of these experiences, taking into account specific national features, are permeating the lively practice of mutual relations between the two countries in an increasingly active way and open up increasingly comprehensive perspectives for further progress, and for the development of new forms of cooperation.

Avgust Voss emphasized that "shoulder to shoulder with the other socialist states, our country actively advocates the elimination of the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and the creation of a pan-European house. In it, the political realities that exist on our continent must be unshakable."

The speaker said that the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 11th SED Congress and the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker, the general secretaries of the two parties, are a vigorous impetus for the development of fraternal cooperation between the Soviet Union and the GDR. The friendship societies are called upon to work for these historic processes of cooperation in an untiring way.

Active at the Line and in Krivoy Rog [subhead]

Thus, the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR considers its task to be to promote the deep understanding of the objectives and values of economic cooperation between the two countries by means of its ideological educational work, in order to show that mutual enrichment through the respective experiences is one of the most important driving forces for the development of socialism. The focus of this work will be transferred to the working collectives, especially those that shift to direct production relations. In this way, it is intended to support the leaderships of the enterprises and institutions, the party leaderships, the trade unions, and the Komsomol, to create an atmosphere of a deliberate, responsible, and creative approach to meeting responsibilities toward partners in the GDR. The friendship societies' activities in the projects of the "Progress" natural gas pipeline, the Klaipeda-Mukran ferryboat connection, and the Krivoy Rog iron ore processing combine constitute a new element of cooperation.

"Our country," Avgust Voss said, "is part of a multifaceted community of socialist states, each of which determines the paths of its development by itself, on the basis of joint cooperation and joint actions." He wished all the GDR's working people great successes in the struggle to fulfill the decisions of the 11th SED Congress.

Congress Concludes

LD1505210188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1446 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 15 May (ADN)—Unswerving friendship and firm alliance between the GDR and the Soviet Union have been affirmed in Berlin this weekend by the 13th congress of the German-Soviet Friendship Society [DSF]. At the conclusion of the congress the delegates and guests on Sunday afternoon approved with tumultuous applause a greetings address to the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker. On behalf of the 6.3 million DSF members in all social areas, it promises new creative initiatives aimed at fulfilling the decisions of the 11th SED Congress.

The congress unanimously reelected Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, as president of the friendship society. A resolution of the 13th congress, also adopted unanimously, describes the propagation and explanation of the peace policy of socialism as a prime task for the society.

The 3,000 delegates and guests in the Palace of the Republic greeted with warm applause at the beginning of the congress on Saturday morning other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, namely Horst Dohlus, Army General Heinz Kessler, Alfred Neumann and Inge Lange. Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany]; Gerald Goetting, chairman of the CDU; Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, chairman of the NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany]; Dr Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the DBD [Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany]; Prof Dr Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front; and other members of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers and representatives of social organizations also took their places in the presidium.

Warmly welcomed as guests were USSR Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov; the comander-in-chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG], Army General Boris Snetkov; and member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the GSFG, Colonel General Nikolay Moiseyev. The chairman of the National Executive of the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR, Avgust Voss, and representatives from sister organizations from Bulgaria, the CSSR, Mongolia, Poland, and Hungary were greeted.

The congress accepted with agreement at the opening session the greetings address from the SED Central Committee signed by Erich Honecker, which was conveyed by Horst Dohlus. Then President Erich Mueckenberger gave the report of the National Executive of the German-Soviet Friendship Society to the 13th congress. He drew an impressive balance of political-cultural activities. The Friendship Society will continue to comprehensively propagate the rise of the Soviet country to a first rank socialist world power and to present the development of the German worker and peasant state in alliance with the country of Lenin, said the president. An important concern of the DSF is its constant contribution to the deepening of friendship and solidarity between the GDR and the Soviet Union.

In all, 27 delegates spoke in the subsequent discussion on the reports of the National Executive and the Central Auditing Commission, as well as on the draft resolution, in the 2 days of consultation. They reported on experiences and results of DSF work in agriculture and industry, in schools and institutes. That solidarity is a part of what was proven by the donation of 5 million Marks to the Solidarity Committee.

The congress received 340 greetings messages from home and abroad. Greetings to the forum were also conveyed by the representatives of sister societies who were taking part as guests. Avgust Voss, who spoke for the Soviet Friendship Society, presented, to applause, a work in enamel symbolizing the solidarity between the USSR and the GDR, as a gift to the DSF Society.

Fischer Toasts Iraqi Foreign Minister

AU1805141488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 May 88 p 6

[Toast by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at a dinner given by him in honor of Iraq's Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz in East Berlin on 16 May: "The GDR Works for Settlement of All Conflicts by Way of Negotiations"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Minister, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends and comrades:

It is a great pleasure for me to once more cordially welcome you, Comrade Minister, and your entourage.

Your official visit is an outstanding event in the longstanding, good relations between our two states. Today we have noted with satisfaction that our views on the basic questions of our time are characterized by the common conviction that today more than ever a secure future for mankind requires constructive commitment and deliberate actions by everyone—in particular by those in responsible positions.

This spirit characterizes the approach to the expansion of the multifarious and impressively developed bilateral relations.

High-level political contacts have contributed and are contributing to the two countries' getting to know each other better. The regular exchange of government delegations to the Leipzig Fair and the International Baghdad Fair promotes mutually beneficial economic relations. A great number of Iraqi students and post-graduate students pursue their studies at GDR universities and colleges. Cultural-scientific relations are developing on the basis of the cultural working plan and the working agreements between the universities, scientific institutions, and the artists' associations. Hundreds of GDR citizens have been and are participating in economic projects in the Republic of Iraq, even under the often complicated conditions of the tragic war. No matter whether we talk about the equipment of the Iraqi railroads with signalling and safety devices, the construction of harbor crane facilities, or about oil prospecting and production drilling, this cooperation has stood its test for many years. Today we have continued—with a gratifying thoroughness, my dear colleague—the dialogue on how cooperation between the GDR and Iraq can be deepened for the benefit of both peoples. At the same time we have started to exchange our views on important international and regional developments. We consider this all the more important since our meeting is taking place at a time when the political dialogue is gaining increasing weight and has become an indispensable element of peaceful international relations.

Intensified cooperation of all forces from East and West, north and south, that are interested in peace, disarmament, and detente, has decisively contributed to improvement of the international situation.

For the first time in history, a step toward real disarmament has been agreed on with the signing of the agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Now we need the determined actions of all forces of reason and realism in order to make this incipient disarmament process irreversible.

It is above all necessary to ratify the first nuclear disarmament treaty. It must not be permitted that this treaty is rendered valueless through modernization of remaining nuclear potentials. The attitude of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the CSSR demonstrates the determination to disarm effectively; even before the treaty had been ratified, the socialist states started to reduce and destroy missiles, thus anticipating the coming into force of the treaty.

Like all peace-loving states and peoples we want to achieve the halving of the strategic offensive weapons potentials while observing the ABM Treaty, and we want to take further tangible steps toward nuclear and conventional disarmament—which for us also includes the total cessation of all nuclear tests—and a ban on chemical weapons.

Together with its allies, the GDR advocates a disarmament program that does not overlook any category of weapons nor any means of verification. It is and remains our goal to contribute to progressing from zero option to zero option, in particular regarding the means of mass destruction, and to establish a comprehensive system of world peace and international security.

In our experience, this requires the desire for dialogue and understanding, and even in difficult situations, it requires reason and realism, and the overcoming of confrontation by means of cooperation. The GDR has made it the supreme principle of its policy to make sure that war will never again emanate from German soil, and that only peace will originate from our country. This is done in awareness of our country's location at the sensitive borderline between the two most powerful military coalitions in the world.

This principle is consistent with the basic concern of our peace policy to promote trust through many initiatives and to reduce armaments. Our proposals for the establishment of a chemical weapon-free zone and a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe have been put on the table. With great expectations we are looking forward to the International Meeting on Nuclear-Free Zones in Berlin in June, which has been called by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and at which we expect competent representatives of your country, too.

The dangers to world peace emanating from regional hotbeds of tension and conflict are causing concern in the GDR. Might not every new spark start a global conflagration?

Therefore, the GDR is in favor of settling contentious issues—no matter how complicated they are—and conflicts—no matter how serious and protracted they may be—at the negotiating table, by considering the legitimate interests of all parties involved.

Comrade Minister, the GDR observes with deep concern the continuing military conflict and the resulting tense situation in the Gulf region. The people—not only those in the Gulf states but we, too—are concerned, in view of the danger of further escalation and extension beyond this region of the conflict, which has been particularly exacerbated by the presence of fleets of states that are located far from the Gulf.

More than ever before, all parties involved have to act in a restrained and careful way in order to bring an end to the 8-year war, which causes irremediable damage and casualties to the two sides, and to reestablish peace.

Mr Minister, the GDR welcomes your country's response to international mediation efforts to settle the conflict.

We support the quickest possible implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 and support the UN general secretary's activities to implement this resolution.

We categorically condemn the brutal actions of the Israeli occupants against the Palestinian people in the territories that have been illegally occupied by Israel, and the repeated violation of Lebanon's territorial integrity. The current situation emphatically demonstrates that a comprehensive, just, and durable Middle East settlement is urgently necessary.

At the European UN Regional Seminar on the Palestinian issue in our capital city at the end of April, it was reaffirmed that the speedy convocation of an international Middle East conference under UN aegis would pave the way to peace in the Middle East—a demand that only a few states reject today.

Participants in such a conference should be all interested sides, including the PLO and Israel, and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Esteemed colleague, our talks have been characterized by the responsibility for peace, which is borne by all states regardless of their size and political importance. I affirm once more that our relations have solid foundations and that there are good conditions for their further fruitful development.

I am sure that in this spirit your visit to the GDR will provide new and tangible stimuli to the future shaping of relations between our two countries.

I ask you, dear guests, to raise your glasses with me and to drink to:

—a peaceful future for all people;

—the fruitful development of cooperation between our countries;

—your health, Mr Minister, the health of your entourage, and the health of all those present here.

Iraqi Greets Fischer

AU1805153888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 May 88 p 6

[Toast by Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz at a dinner given in his honor by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in East Berlin on 16 May: "Extensive Exchange of Views on Mutually Interesting Questions"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Oskar Fischer, dear friends:

On my own behalf and on behalf of the Iraqi delegation I would like to extend cordial thanks and appreciation for the warm welcome in your beautiful country and the sentiments of friendship you expressed.

It is a pleasure for me to note than we in Iraq pay attention to our relations and try to continue to develop them further by realizing the joint interests of our two countries and peoples.

This visit has provided the opportunity for me to exchange views on all bilateral relations with you and and the comrades in the German leadership and to look for the best means to deepen and develop cooperation in various fields.

We also had an exchange of views on mutually interesting international questions, in particular in connection with problems of peace and security. There is reason for satisfaction about the fact that our two countries agree on many questions in their foreign policy since both believe in peace, work for it, and demand the elimination of the factors of tension and crises that threaten peace and stability in the world. You know very well what the Iraqi policy is in this field: Iraq pursues an independent policy based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, nonalignment, belief in solving conflicts by peaceful means, and rejection of the logic of violence, hegemony, and expansion.

Dear friends, for many years Iraq, and the entire Arab Gulf, has been suffering from the Iranian policy of war, aggression, and expansion. The war that Iran started against Iraq has been going on now for 8 years. Over these 8 years Iraq has called for solving the conflict by peaceful means and on the basis of the UN Charter and international law, and has agreed to all international initiatives to settle the conflict by peaceful means, including to Security Council Resolution 598 of July 1987. Iran, on the other hand, has rejected all international decisions and initiatives, has insisted on continuing the war, and has extended its aggressions to other states in the region, such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. For 10 months the Iranian regime has refused clear agreement to the binding Resolution 598 and is pursuing instead a policy of evasion and maneuvering, of continuing the war against Iraq, and of continuing to threaten security and stability in the region.

Iraq defends its sovereignty and its right to existence with courage and determination and has proved this during the 8 years of the conflict. The most recent evidence of this is our outstanding success in dislodging the conquerors from the territory of Faw that they occupied.

Iraq will continue under any circumstances to call for a just and comprehensive peace and for the comprehensive and guaranteed application of Resolution 598.

From your friendly country we appeal to the international community to support more actively the establishment of peace and to exert pressure on the aggressor to cease its aggression and to accept peace.

Esteemed comrades, at the other flank of our region the Zionist aggression against the Arab nation continues, the Israeli occupation of Arab territories goes on, and the Palestinian people are still deprived of their legitimate rights.

Iraq supports with determination the struggle of the Palestinian people. We emphatically demand respect for the right of the Palestinian Arab people to regain their occupied territories and their right to self-determination, including the right to found an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people.

The heroic uprising of the Palestinian Arab people, which has been going on for several months, is the most convincing proof of the vitality of the Palestinian people and their firm willingness to achieve freedom and independence and gives evidence to the failure of the course of expansion and occupation that dominates the minds of Israeli leaders. The Middle East conflict and the conflict in our region can be solved only by establishing a just peace. Iraq supports the Arab decisions in this respect, in particular the agreements of the Amman summit, and is of the opinion that any political approach that does not take into account the full rights of the Palestinian people is doomed to fail. We appreciate the support of the GDR Government for the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people.

On this occasion I do not want to fail to pay tribute to the GDR's initiative in calling the international meeting on nuclear-free zones to avert the danger of nuclear war.

In international relations, Iraq supports the concept of reducing tensions, solving conflicts by peaceful means, and strengthening the role of the United Nations.

We continue to support the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter- Range Missiles as an initial, important step toward eliminating nuclear weapons and safeguarding peace all over the world. Tirelessly, we continue to support more intensive utilization of the opportunities and possibilities for peace and constructive cooperation between the countries of the world.

In conclusion, I would like to extend best wishes for further progress and much luck to the GDR people.

Let us raise the glass to our friendship and further good cooperation between our peoples!

End to Interference in Afghanistan Demanded

AU1805154288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 May 88 p 2

["PZ" commentary: "The Central Issue: End to Interference in Afghanistan"]

[Text] An essential step is now being made on the long path toward a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem. On Sunday [15 May] the four Afghanistan agreements signed in Geneva on 14 April between Afghanistan and Pakistan and between the USSR and the United States came into force. In this connection, on the same day the USSR started the withdrawal of the first units, involving 19,000 men. This shows how seriously the USSR takes the consistent implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, in order to contribute to improving the situation in the world in general.

As is known, the Geneva agreements include two agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan. One formulates the principles of bilateral relations and includes the obligation of noninterference and nonintervention. The second deals with the voluntary return of refugees to their homeland and stipulates the conditions of their reintegration into everyday life in the Republic of Afghanistan. On behalf of the Governments of the USSR and the United States, their foreign ministers signed a statement on international guarantees. Their signatures and those of the representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan were also put to an agreement on the interdependence of all elements of the political solution, which includes the schedule for withdrawal of Soviet troops.

The latest joint Soviet-Afghan statement is justified in noting that the policy of national reconciliation pursued by the Kabul government has laid the necessary foundations for this. On the occasion of the coming into force of the Geneva agreements, the Afghan leadership reaffirmed its willingness to promote with all its strength the process that has been started and to contribute to forming a coalition government on the broadest possible basis in Kabul. However—and this has been repeatedly stressed by President Najibullah—this solution to the Afghanistan question cannot be a one-way street.

Now it is important that all sides involved follow the spirit and the letter of the treaty stipulations and put them into practice. The central issue of the settlement in Afghanistan is and remains an end to interference into Afghanistan's internal affairs. This includes the elimination of the material basis that is currently used to effect this interference. It means putting an end to external support for those forces that continue to count on armed force, fratricidal strife, and senseless bloodshed in the country.

Press Release on Tanzanian Premier Visit

AU1905205188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 May p 6

[ND item: "Joint Press Release on the Official Visit to the GDR by Joseph S. Warioba, prime minister and first vice president of the United Republic of Tanzania, and member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania"]

[Text] At the invitation of Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, Joseph S. Warioba, prime minister and first vice president of the United Republic of Tanzania, and member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania [TRP], paid an official visit to the GDR from 10 to 13 May 1988.

Joseph S. Warioba was received by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, for a friendly talk. He conveyed cordial greetings from TRP Chairman Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, and Ali Hassan Mwinyi, president of the United Republic of Tanzania, which were reciprocated by Erich Honecker in an equally cordial way.

Joseph S. Warioba laid a wreath at the Unter den Linden Monument to the Victims of Fascism and Militarism and visited the GDR border at Brandenburger Tor. He called on the mayor of Berlin, went to see historical and cultural sights in the capital, and visited the Eberswalde Institute for Forestry and the Golzow LPG.

During their official talks, held in an open, friendly atmosphere, and characterized by mutual understanding, Willi Stoph and Joseph S. Warioba briefed each other on developments in their countries, discussed the level and perspectives of the relations between the GDR and Tanzania, and exchanged views on topical basic questions of the international situation.

Willi Stoph explained the initiative of all working people of the GDR to universally implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the results achieved in this context. Joseph S. Warioba reported on Tanzania's efforts to solve the most urgent problems of the country's economic and social development.

Willi Stoph and Joseph S. Warioba paid tribute to the level of relations between the two countries as an expression of traditional friendship in the joint struggle for peace and progress. They advocated the deepening of trustful cooperation between the GDR and Tanzania, and attached special importance to political exchange of opinions on basic questions of our time. They affirmed their mutual efforts to develop economic, scientific-technological, and cultural-scientific cooperation, in line with the possibilities of the two countries.

During the discussion on the international situation, both politicians stated with satisfaction that, after years of confrontation and tensions, a turn for the better is beginning to appear in international relations. They agreed that the results of the Washington summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan have confirmed the peoples' hopes for peace and general disarmament. They underlined the historic importance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as the start of nuclear disarmament. Joseph S. Warioba highly appreciated the unilateral and early implementation of this agreement by the Governments of the GDR and the USSR. Both interlocutors advocated further steps after this first one, in order to make the process of disarmament and detente irreversible. The 50 percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, in strict adherence to the ABM Treaty; the halting of all nuclear tests; and the banning of chemical weapons should now be in the foreground. Both politicians expressed the expectation that further impetus will be given to this process by the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow and by the Third UN Special Conference on Disarmament.

Willi Stoph and Joseph S. Warioba affirmed their governments' determination to make every effort in the future to pave the way for a world free of nuclear weapons and violence. In this context, Willi Stoph underlined the GDR's unlimited support for the peace initiative of the six states as an important contribution in the worldwide struggle for peace, disarmament, and detente, and expressed great appreciation for Tanzania's participation in this initiative. Joseph S. Warioba paid tribute to the GDR's active, constructive policy of peace and dialogue. He welcomed the Berlin International Meeting for Nuclear-Free Zones as an important and timely initiative of the GDR.

Both politicians advocated the continuation of the tested cooperation between their countries as members of the UN ad hoc committee on transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, and the promotion of all activities aimed at a nuclear-free Africa in the future.

Willi Stoph and Joseph S. Warioba stressed with a single voice the close relationship between peace, disarmament, and development. They advocated the continuation of efforts to create a comprehensive system of international peace and security. They underlined the necessity of a new, just international economic order which could contribute considerably to overcoming underdevelopment and the complicated economic situation in the developing countries.

The two politicians had an exchange of opinions on the areas of conflicts and tensions in the world. They underlined the need to settle them as quickly as possible and affirmed their states' determination to make an active contribution to their settlement.

Both welcomed the agreements on political regulation of the situation in Afghanistan. They called upon all sides involved in the conflict to respect the stipulations of the agreements and to strictly observe them.

Willi Stoph and Joseph S. Warioba expressed great concern over the renewed escalation of warfare between Iraq and Iran. They pleaded for termination of the war and for detente in the Gulf region, in keeping with Resolution 598 of the UN Security Council. Regarding the situation in the Middle East, both politicians condemned the continued occupation of Arab territories by Israel. Moreover, they denounced the increased brutal actions of Israel against the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories. They demanded the withdrawal of Israeli troops from these territories and the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and to an independent state. They affirmed their conviction concerning the urgent necessity of an international conference under the United Nations' aegis, with the equal participation of all interested sides, including the PLO.

Willi Stoph and Joseph S. Warioba stated with deep concern that serious dangers, not only for the peaceful development of the peoples of the region but also for world peace and international security, continue to emerge, inwardly and outwardly, from the aggressive policy of the racist apartheid regime.

They underlined the necessity of eliminating apartheid as the main cause of all tensions in the region. They decidedly condemned the policy of destabilization pursued by the racist regime in South Africa against the independent states of the region. The interlocutors demanded the immediate implementation of the UN resolutions on Namibia, including Resolution 435 of the Security Council of 1978. Both politicians emphatically demanded the immediate and unconditional termination of South Africa's military intervention in Angola and Pretoria's support for the armed bandits operating against Mozambique. They demanded the imposition of comprehensive and binding sanctions against South Africa, according to Chapter Seven of the UN Charter.

Joseph S. Warioba thanked the GDR for its long and active support for the just stuggle of the frontline states and the peoples of southern Africa to defend their national independence and sovereignty.

Willi Stoph assured the Tanzanian people and the other peoples of southern Africa of the further solidarity and support of the GDR in their struggle to eliminate apartheid and to create peaceful conditions for humane development.

Joseph S. Warioba expressed thanks for the cordial and friendly reception which was accorded to him and his entourage in the GDR. He invited the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers to pay an official visit to the United Republic of Tanzania. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Honecker Honors Uruguay Communist Party Leader

AU1305172588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 May 88 p 2

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at presentation of the Great Star of Friendship Among Peoples award to Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay Central Committee, in Berlin on 11 May: "We Pay Tribute to the Merits of a Steadfast Uruguayan Communist"]

[Text] When Erich Honecker presented the award to Rodney Arismendi he said to the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay [PCU]: It is a great pleasure for me to present to you today the order "Great Star of Friendship Among Peoples," which you have been awarded on your 75th birthday at the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo. With this high award we pay tribute to the outstanding merits of a steadfast Communist and an important representative of the Uruguayan people and of the international Communist movement.

From your early youth onwards you have dedicated your life to the struggle against exploitation and oppression, for peace, democracy, and the establishment of a society full of human dignity. Your life has been firmly linked with the development of the PCU. Firmly rooted in the workers class and in the working people, the PCU has developed into an influential Marxist-Leninist militant party during the 30 years of your leadership.

Erich Honecker stressed that neither terror nor illegality were able to destroy its unity and cohesion over the more than 11 years of fascist military dictatorship. The party gained great respect because of the courage and steadfastness of thousands of tested cadres in the antifascist resistance struggle. They played an essential part in ousting the dictatorship and in reestablishing democratic conditions in Uruguay.

With far-sightedness and high personal commitment you, dear Comrade Rodney Arismendi, have continuously worked for constructive cooperation of Communists, socialists, Christian Democrats, and other political and social forces regardless of all differences, Erich Honecker continued. In the meantime the Broad Front people's movement has become an influential political factor in Uruguay, a progressive, democratic alternative, whose experiences enrich the struggle of the peoples for peace and democracy, for national and social liberation.

We feel great respect for your varied theoretical and journalistic work. It is always a militant contribution to defending and creatively applying our scientific ideology.

I would like to use this opportunity to thank you for your great personal dedication in promoting the close, trusting cooperation between the SED and the PCU as well as the development of friendly relations between our peoples and states. In the future, too, the SED will stand in solidarity at the side of the Communists and all democrats of your country and will deepen the traditional cooperation between our parties in the interest of peace, democracy, and socialism.

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and the GDR State Council, as well as on his own behalf, Erich Honecker congratulated his guest most cordially at being awarded the order "Great Star of Friendship Among Peoples" and added: I wish you good health and creative energy in your responsible work and new success in the struggle for our common cause.

Arismendi Thanks Honecker

AU1305173188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 May 88 p 2

[Report on speech by Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, after he was awarded the Great Star of Friendship Among Peoples in Berlin on 10 May: "Expression of Friendship and Solidarity for Our People"]

[Text] Rodney Arismendi expressed his gratitude to the people of the GDR, the SED, its leadership, and to Erich Honecker himself. This gratitude, he said, is for the comprehensive and deep solidarity and support during the tragic night of the fascist dictatorship that put our party and our people to a hard test—a test which must now be passed in the hours of the reawakening, in reconquering democracy.

I have to stress that this high award presented to me on behalf of the GDR is an expression of friendship and solidarity with our party and our people in the joint struggle for socialism and for friendship between our countries and peoples. Of course, there are also personal aspects. But in reality, you, as experienced communists, know that in the end our own capabilities depend on the capabilities of our party based on the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, on proletarian internationalism, and on dedication to the historic mission of the workers class.

You put an end to fascism, Rodney Arismendi continued, you took up and cultivated the glorious heritage in the country where Marx and Engels were born. You are a bulwark in the struggle for peace, a firm pillar with your own criteria and with the great task to contribute to eliminating nuclear weapons—a task which, above all, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev has set for himself. We know that this is a vital task. We have always felt the deep internationalist roots of the SED. This makes the GDR a firm bulwark of the socialist community and the communist world movement. Our people know why this is so.

I have been here often, Rodney Arismendi stressed. Every time my thoughts were enriched and the horizon has become broader in view of the significant rhythm of the GDR in building socialism. This is a historic achievement of your party, the party leadership, and of you personally, Comrade Honecker. I have again visited Dresden, which has changed—like socialism in the GDR in general—and has made further progress. In Dresden we saw the impressive progress achieved in the scientific-technological revolution and other successes, such as those of arts and culture, and the fantastic reconstruction of the opera house and of the whole city.

Rodney Arismendi recalled the Karl Marx Conference, where important theoretical concepts were developed and summarized, and Erich Honecker's statement that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence and that the policy of detente is the only way to prevent a nuclear disaster.

The general secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay pointed out that today the communists discuss many things and that in Uruguay they contribute with their own ideas and thoughts to continuing the glorious history of the communists. It is necessary to overcome sectarianism and to consolidate relations with the masses.

The Latin American reality has changed again. There have been historic changes, such as in Cuba, revolutionary convulsions, and also fascism. Even though in Chile and in some other countries there is still fascism and terror, the general secretary said, in Nicaragua and—because of democratic developments—in other countries new circumstances have developed, in particular the desire for Latin America's autonomy and independence from the United States.

We, in Uruguay, are faced with two dialectically linked tasks: to support the stance of the people and the government toward the U.S. Administration and to stand at the side of Nicaragua, to pursue the struggle against foreign debts and, at the same time, to consolidate democracy. Preconditions for this do exist. There is a united workers class with a unified trade union organization. Students and intellectuals are allied with the workers class. There is a big, broad political front. The party is being consolidated because of its unity and its steady efforts to work creatively and to develop concepts suitable for the national policy. We have a great party that is firm in its principles, patriotic, democratic, deeply rooted in the people, and joined to the best of the Uruguayan people.

Rodney Arismendi concluded: On behalf of the Uruguayan Communists, I again thank you for the high award given to me and, at the same time, for the generous help and support granted to us, for the deep love that we feel. We wish you great success in the future and we are sure that this success will not fail to arrive here, in the heart of Europe.

Press Conference Held

AU1805212588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 May 88 p 6

[Dr Klaus Steininger report: "Rodney Arismendi: The GDR's Progress Is of Enormous Importance; Press Conference by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay"]

[Text] At an international press conference in Berlin on Friday [13 May], Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay [CPU], described his impressions of his latest visit to the GDR and answered questions on the development of Latin America and on topics of world politics.

In the 5 years since the Karl Marx Conference, which last brought him to Berlin in 1983, there have been important changes in the GDR, he said. During his visit to the Robotron Combine he was able to get an idea of the development of high technologies, above all microelectronics, and the importance that is attached in the GDR to the use of scientific-technological progress for the benefit of the people. "One can see how much power and thinking the comrades from the GDR have invested in this matter," Rodney Arismendi said. The results in this field are of enormous political importance for strengthening the position of socialism in the competition with capitalism.

The guest also was very impressed by the creative achievements in reconstructing valuable monuments of national architecture, for example, the Schauspielhaus Theater and the Semperoper Opera House. Arismendi emphasized that in terms of town planning and artistic criteria, the GDR capital has developed as an excellent urban ensemble in the past 5 years. Today Berlin can be seen as a site of a harmonious and coordinated reconstruction.

Referring to questions of world politics, the CPU general secretary stressed that socialism has already gained a foothold on four continents. As a result of the balance of strategic military forces established by socialism, mankind was saved from World War III. Today it is important to completely relieve the planet of the nuclear threat.

Regarding present developments in Latin America and Uruguay, Arismendi underlined the agreement with other patriotic forces in the struggle for peace, against foreign debts, and in the defense of Nicaragua's sovereignty. In Uruguay, the influential CPU and the Frente Amplio popular movement support the government's foreign political course, but at the same time also advocate the deepening of democracy.

Rodney Arismendi expressed his conviction that the Communist movement has changed the world like no other political force has. It will always give new impetus to the progress of mankind.

Arismendi Departs

LD1705201088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1323 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 17 May (ADN)—Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, who has been in the GDR for several days at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, began his journey home on Tuesday.

He and his wife were warmly seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Guenter Sieber, member of the Central Committee of the SED and director of the International Relations Department.

World of Scientists Group Discusses Disarmament

AU1805132788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 May 88 p 2

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—The members of the World Federation of Scientists and all other scientific experts all over the world are requested to actively support further results in the disarmament process that has been initiated. This appeal was publicly launched in Dresden on Sunday [15 May] by the disarmament committee of this federation of some 800,000 members. At the close of the meeting of this forum, which includes scientists from 18 countries in Europe, Africa, America, and Asia, its members described the conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on a 50-percent reduction of nuclear arsenals, a ban on nuclear tests, creation of nuclear-free zones, reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces, and urgent measures against the qualitative arms race, as the most important present-day tasks.

These were the conclusions of a 2-day symposium that was attended by scientists from 11 countries in Dresden on Friday [13 May] and Saturday [14 May]. Prof Klaus Engelhardt, chairman of the disarmament committee of the World Federation of Scientists, stated that under the topic "Science and Disarmament—Challenge of the Nineties," ways and means of how scientists can contribute to enhancing the disarmament process were discussed.

During the constructive discussion on needs in the sphere of disarmament and various tasks resulting therefrom, altogether 17 participants from the GDR, FRG, CSSR, Great Britain, Iraq, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, the Soviet Union, and the United States spoke. [passage omitted]

Krenz Decorates People's Control Inspectors

AU1705141388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 May 88 p 3

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, has conferred the Karl Marx Order on the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its founding. At a festive event on Friday [13 May] Egon Krenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, presented the high award to Minister Dr Albert Stief, chairman of the Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate. This was done in recognition of the outstanding achievements of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate in shaping the developed socialist society, in unfolding socialist democracy, in realizing a high level of state discipline, and in strengthening the socialist rule of law. Egon Krenz conveyed cordial greetings and congratulations from Erich Honecker to the more than 283,000 voluntary and employed people's control inspectors and read the greetings message from the Central Committee.

The festive event was attended by Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Dr Klaus Sorgenicht, director of the State and Legal Matters Department, as well as meritorious workers from control collectives in enterprises, institutions, and residential areas. [passage omitted]

Precongress Debates Consider Economy, Party Role

AU1905091188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 May 88 p 3

[Article by Denes Maros: "A Party Engaged in Politics"]

[Text] The main features of party life in recent months can be summed up in a single word: debate. Debate on the economy, the party, the interpretation and implementation of the party's leading role, the development of the system of political institutions, ideological theses, the draft policy statement to be submitted to the party conference, and on everything that concerns party members and society at large. As the nature of question shows, this exchange of views did not just take place in party forums. We can say without exaggeration that millions of people expressed their opinions, some before a larger public, others in the company of their friends and family. Questions like "where do we stand, how and why did we get here, and what next?" arise and at the same time they call for and partially provide an answer.

Facing Essential Decisions [subhead]

Obviously, the national dialogue presented a picture of the party and society today. This time, we will try to describe some of the features of this picture, that is, to say whether the need for a generally formulated greater democracy, openness, and for a party engaged in politics rather than administration was expressed in this series of debates, and how it was expressed? In short, we can give a positive answer to this question. But what is the reason behind this perceptible change and what has brought it about in party life and in public life? Not so long ago, we noticed that indifference and apathy were spreading among the people, and citizens were turning inwards. Insecurity and a loss of confidence was leading to apathy among party members, too.

Let us start with the seemingly formal reason: the abovementioned document forced the party members, and not only the party members, to express their opinions; in individual discussions in connection with the exchange of party membership cards, in membership meetings, and in working out the annual working program, the party members also had to express their opinions. They spoke about national and local policy, their general mood, their problems, and their ideological and emotional ties with the party. No doubt, this increased pace also carried risks, the danger of weariness. It is also a fact that not only was time very short but also the multitude of daily chores used up, and still uses up, our energy and we had to think over and express our opinions about both local and daily tasks as we went along. How did the party members cope with the extra burden?

According to the information received, the party members reacted to this burden with outstanding activity. The content of the document obviously played a role in this, and so did the declared intention that the party was expecting proposals prior to its making essential decisions and would work out its position on the basis of these proposals. Now, after the debates, we can risk saying that the weak points in the document—criticized for being too general and simply a list of wishes—accelerated rather than curbed the desire for debate. Everywhere the exchanges of views went beyond analysis and interpretation of the text. The document occasionally led to the presentation of supplements and radical changes. In other words, the draft proposals fulfilled their basic function of serving as material for debate.

More Than Recognition [subhead]

Everywhere formulations that attempted to generalize were compared with specific local conditions. The same conclusions were interpreted differently at debates held in large enterprises, intellectual circles, and in the debates of the older and younger generation. The important lesson to be learned from this is that the differences in interpretation between the various groups and strata of society—differences deriving from their situation and interests—are increasingly gaining ground, and so is the need to find a common denominator and harmonize interests wherever possible.

Without underestimating the compelling role of the document, the country's situation and the situation of the party and society, which are calling for changes, have been the main driving force behind these debates. Complex issues and tensions have accumulated. We can feel the direct unfavorable impact of all this partly and basically in the economy, in the increasing difficulty we are having in making a living. We would all like to live better, but how do we create the necessary resources? What must change in the production sphere, what burdens will we have to bear in the period of stabilization, to what extent, and for how long? These are questions that concern everyone. To put it somehow more generally but more precisely: What stage of socialist construction are we in at present, what does the reform process contain, what hinders this process and what contributes to it, and what results can this process produce?

It is obvious that we have come to a crossroads, and everyone agrees that things must change. The direction, methods, and consequences of these changes are the points at issue here. We have already recognized the need to create the conditions for efficient economic activity and to coordinate the requirements of the economy with other areas of society. Our task is to bring about joint economic and social development, a complete renewal. Paradoxically, this recognition and the subsequent first steps coincide in time with the problems that derive from our delays—to put it this way for the sake of simplicity. And this gives the wrong impression that previous solutions were better. Or the opposite: We should discard everything because all our values are questionable.

Naturally, extremist views in public opinion, views that are common only in their unreal character, also emerged during the debates. The majority, however, evaluating our real situation and possibilities, came up with criticism and proposals; the majority of the participants in the debates were responsibly engaged in politics. To avoid misunderstanding: Debate in itself is not the same as being engaged in politics. This is not the reason why we can say that, while calling for the party to become a party engaged in politics and calling for adequate means and methods, and the style to become one, the party members looked like a party engaged in politics because they carried out debates. The content and results of these debates can provide justification for this statement, which, of course, must be immediately evaluated. In other words: What is it that makes a party one that is engaged in politics in general? And today?

Without Refinements [subhead]

It was the party that set out the direction of the changes and development in the last more than 4 decades by fulfilling its leading role and carrying out a policy that has been to the benefit of society and the country; and not without mistakes and failures. It was the party that always initiated corrections and the implementation of new tasks. It has the same mission today, and the overwhelming majority of the members of society continue to accept the party as the leading force in society. But today, the implementation of this leading role requires other things than it did previously, because society, including the economy, the state, the institutions, organizations, and movements, has changed and it functions—can only function—differently from the way it did years or decades ago. The period preceding the party conference is an example of the recognition and partial exercise of this change of role. How is this change manifested?

It is manifested, among other things, in the fact that, since the debate on the guidelines of the 13th MSZMP Congress, this has been the first time that the complete party membership has participated in analyzing the situation and working out the tasks ahead. This is a radical break with the justly criticized practice that reduced party members and basic organizations to mere executors of decisions made above. Of course, this practice also had its reasons and justification. These were mainly that time is pressing and the tasks cannot be delayed, a broad debate might delay decisions, the information and signals coming from below provide an adequate basis for understanding the true situation and the general gathering of opinions is unnecessary. The only problems is that, this way, the basic party organizations and the party members were left out, or at least felt they were left out, of policy-making. As a result, the relations between the leadership and the party members and between the party and the masses grew weaker, and so did the confidence. It is one thing to admit and understand the correctness of a decision, and another thing to see in these decisions the reflection of our opinions or the dismissal of them.

It has always been a principle accepted by the party that it is the role of the party forums to pit various opinions against each other according to the norms of democratic centralism. But in cases where the party members' task is merely to carry out decisions, centralism inevitably gains ground and democracy decreases and becomes too formal. (We could also see that, as a direct consequence, the "corridors" of doubts and counter-opinions find their own publicity.) The current debates were carried out in a democratic way, also in the sense that the proposals and observations made during the debates were not sanitized or screened before reaching the higher echelons of the party. But—and here let us mention an essential factor, one of the criteria of discussing politics—the accumulation and forwarding of observations does not mean that one is engaged in politics. This might do for a public opinion poll or a report on the general mood. Arguing with various opinions, developing a common position, and later, taking the minority opinions into consideration while representing the majority opinion, and acting accordingly—well, all these together cover the concept of engagement in politics.

It is true that the current exchange of views was primarily in preparation for the national party conference, but a considerable number of the issues go beyond the task of the party conference. However, we found that the basic party organizations and elected bodies did not confine themselves to formulating an opinion about the central documents but, in the meantime, also carried out changes affecting local party life, changes in dealing with opinions and determining tasks. Without this, the desirable change would not have started. If there is only change in the preparation of central decisions based on democratic and broad opinions while in the lower echelons people continue to wait for and interpret these central decisions, then a party organization or body can hardly become a collective that is able to make use of its increasing independence. There is not, and cannot be, a recipe for everything. We also know that, until an issue becomes a national one—if at all—the lack of a solution leads to local political tensions. It is not difficult to predict that, precisely due to the specific local conditions and the strong social differentiation, contradictions that affect only a narrow circle will increase, and, if possible, these contradictions must be solved in the areas in which they emerge.

Openness Everywhere! [subhead]

The issue of openness emerged everywhere in the debates, either in connection with the demand for greater and broader openness or in claiming that there are no degrees of openness: either it exists, or it is limited, and then it is no longer openness. Without becoming entangled in interpreting this concept that is so much in vogue nowadays, among other things, in dissecting the means and forms of this openness and the kind of issues of party life that concern only the party members, let us point out that the current party debates were not held "behind closed doors." The draft policy statement was published and nonparty members also showed great interest in this document. Their observations were reflected in the opinions of the party organizations and the other bodies whose opinions were consulted. Public debate, therefore, has enriched the exchange of views. What next? How can the party organizations apply these experiences? The basic party organizations are the main arenas of political activity, and recognition of this fact and this need is hardly new. What is openness like there? What does the public know about the activity of the district, town, and county party organizations? Openness is necessary everywhere. There is more happening there, or more precisely, there are also other things happening there in addition to preparing documents and decisions and making them public. The goal is to create daily contact and consistent openness. We have no secrets and no intention of hiding things.

The process of renewal can indeed be discerned in the exchange of views urging the renewal of the party. We have become more relaxed, and it turns out that we can, and must, speak about our previous taboos, or issues considered to be taboos, like, for example, personal and collective responsibility and the shortcomings of our cadre work, and that the socioeconomic changes currently under way require competent leaders at all levels, leaders whose professional skill, aptitude, determination for our goals, and moral attitude will guarantee the implementation of our tasks. And this means that only the amount of work done can be the standard for both past years and the future.

The decisions of the leading bodies of the party are well known, and in the communique published on the Central Committee session of 10 May we can read the following: "The Central Committee and the Central Control Committee considers it necessary to renew the leading bodies of the party. In order to facilitate this, the party proposes that the national party conference should re-elect the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee."

This decision reflects a deep sense of responsibility for the fate and future of our country. We should always do our jobs. Everyone should do his job according to his skills and accept constant evaluation of his activity. In the unanimous opinion of the party members and society at large, we are all responsible for our deeds and the acceptance of any position increases our responsibility.

SZOT Representative Discusses New Trade Union

LD1705085588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] [Unidentified presenter] The Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers was formed in Budapest on Saturday at the Metro Club. I was there, and I now greet here in the studio Imre Egeto, who was also there, representing SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] as an observer. Let me ask first of all, what were your personal impressions? You spent a day there. What did you see and what were your feelings about this day?

[Egeto] My impressions are mixed, because it was not defined clearly for me whether this organization, this trade union, will be really be a trade union capable of functioning. It was not clarified for me completely what the political platform of the new trade union is, which I consider to be very significant as regards the operating of an organization.

[Presenter] My information is—and I read this in their founding letter—that they have made public their wish to work within the Hungarian trade union movement and within Hungarian laws. Is this not a sufficient political platform?

[Egeto] What the phrase within the Hungarian trade union movement means precisely, I cannot say here. This did not become apparent at the founding meeting, either.

I think they can be a part of the Hungarian trade union movement if they accept the basic rules of Hungarian trade unions, and conduct their activity on that basis.

[Presenter] And to what extent is it an acceptable political platform—I quote you—that they naturally declared that they wish to operate in accordance with the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic. To what extent is this an acceptable political platform?

[Egeto] This is a general declaration. Many things have to be clarified apart from this: their relation to the party, their relation to the government, their relation to other social organizations, and their relation to the trade unions.

[Presenter] I understand. I also asked them what their relation to these social organizations is, and they said that the relation is that which is possible in a world which is changing, and changing in very many things. SZOT is also changing. You yourselves have often said that you are living in an age of change, you are in a period of change. I wonder what their relations with you will be. What is the stance of SZOT in relation to the newly-formed trade union?

[Egeto] The SZOT leadership does not at this moment have a stance regarding the formation of the trade union.

[Presenter] Is it conceivable that this, too, is the kind of initiative which SZOT will in the end be sympathetic to? You said that SZOT does not yet have a stance at this moment regarding the new trade union. So let me ask whether you view the formation of the new trade union with sympathy or antipathy?

[Egeto] It is the elected bodies which have the right to take a stance on these questions.

[Presenter] What is the present situation, and what will happen? What can be expected?

[Egeto] Well, it is our opinion that among these reform processes, in several areas of scientific research, a branch conception connected to workers' interest representation is also in the process of being formulated, of which the most advanced is that of the public employees. It is an already crystallized proposal of the Trade Union of Public Employees according to which those belonging to the public employees wish to create an independent trade union for the scientific institutes, within a federal system.

[Presenter] Will you have talks with this trade union which has been formed?

[Egeto] I cannot give a reply to this now, either. The decision on this belongs to the sphere of influence of the leading bodies of SZOT.

Berecz Answers Students' Questions

LD1505045088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1320 GMT 14 May 88

["What Did You Write" program; no video available]

[Text] [Presenter] We received an invitation from the Laszlo The First Grammar School in Budapest, where a student club that has borrowed the name of our program has been set up. The aim of the students setting up the club is to provide an opportunity and a venue to secondary school students who wish to discuss questions concerning their generation among themselves and with invited guests. The club's first guest was Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, who was quizzed by the students on questions that interested them most.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified student] We hear all the time at all kinds of forums that youth are more or less united today. But we grammar school and secondary school students are of the view that this is not at all the case, that young people are very much fragmented and stratified. I think this is a fundamental contradiction.

[Berecz] Well, in that case, it was not I who was speaking about youth, because I would not say that youth are united, nor would I say at present that our society is united. In fact it very rarely happens that there is a divided youth in a united society or a united youth in a society divided both in opinions and attitudes. We are not living in such a period today. We are living in a period when opinions are exceptionally divergent, because the evaluations and hence the conclusions differ. I could say that at present almost everyone has a small program. These programs are similar in some main questions, but differ in the rest. As for youth being fragmented, I would say, and this is also contained in the draft standpoint to be submitted to the party conference, that we regard communist youth as the sole political youth organization. Beyond this, we can imagine many fragments, organizations, and organized frameworks of self-government, self-teaching, and autonomy—we can imagine all these for youth.

[Unidentified student] Can the question of the establishment of several political youth organizations be separated from that of a multiparty system?

[Berecz] This is connected with it. This is where we are most determined in the area of youth movement, that is, that there should be one political youth organization, national political youth organization.

[Unidentified student] And in 20 years?

[Berecz] You will have to decide, or by then your children will have to decide. We do not want to determine this for 20 years.

[Unidentified student] How do you expect from today's youth a solution to today's problems when their communist youth organization is quietly heading downward, and whose interest in politics has declined?

[Berecz] I would not say that their interest in politics has declined. It happens to be livening up at the moment, but the interest in politics is very much scattered. As for the Communist Youth League, I am always surprised when it is said, when it is said by young people, that it is no good. Why is it not good? Are they not allowing you to do things, or has the apparat killed this organization or was it caused by lack of interest? And if there were something new, something different, then we would be where we were back in the old days when the question of the renewal of the peace movement was raised and the club movement was launched. The older leaders in the peace movement said: Oh, this is dangerous, unpredictable. And I said: Let us allow it and in 3 years the kids will no longer be doing it because there will be no romanticism left in it. This is how you are now, something different has something, something interesting. Let us try out something different, but perhaps within the existing framework.

[Unidentified student] The concept and meaning of a political culture is missing from us. The state is built partly on socialist and Marxist pillars. Marxism is broken into its components and sources, but people are unable to explain its theoretical essense, and when they try the teachers and ideology come up against a brick wall.

[Berecz] The situation of Marxism is that we have not regarded it as a suitable scientific view and method in our hands, but as a collection of dogmas and prescriptions. And the person who could recite them was a good cadre or did a good exam, got a good mark. The backlog goes back several decades; therefore, I consider theoretical renewal as the most important aspect of our work, although this is what we talk least about, because the emphasis does not have to be placed on this. For the man who tills the soil says to this that one can obtain the theory from many places, but what I need now is grain to sow. And the other point is that we must also achieve or secure ideological liberation, too, so that we can rid ourselves of these dogmas and so that thinking can fly more freely, in accordance with some fundamental requirements, and one of these is that our thinking and action should benefit this nation, this homeland.

The next point: A debating culture really must be developed because we are not accustomed to it. Until now the debate has been that someone said the opposite and then we waited to see what its consequence would be. But now it is not individuals who say the opposite. The debate in the MSZMP in January and now in April was fascinating in one respect: There weren't two speakers who said the same thing. Even if they said something similar, they had their own style, their own opinion, and no one could be kept quiet.

This is what we must build on in the future. For if the spirit, style, and conduct radiates from the party that we conduct tough debates among ourselves and accept, secure, and respect those that argue with us, then we shall be a debating country. However, I would say that it is worth debating and debates can be conducted only if they are followed by action, because no one has yet satisfied his hunger with debates.

[Unidentified student] Is there a realistic prospect—naturally everyone is preoccupied with the upcoming party conference—of a change that will lead to politicians having a face, a personality of their own?

[Berecz] People believe someone when they see his life, or part of his life. We do not need to be as open as is the case in the United States, let's say, or in Western Europe, as to have to intrude in people's private lives, because everyone has self-esteem, and his self-esteem must be respected. But it needs to be felt that there is a family behind him and he is working for them, too. In my opinion, we can only go forward on this point.

[Unidentified student] It is quite obvious that for these debates to be fruitful, complete internal democracy is needed. I would like to ask you whether this democracy is complete in our country, in the MSZMP.

[Berecz] For this democracy to be complete, what is needed is that we build mainly from below, but I cannot imagine a society without centers, which direct, compile, and collate.

So this slogan or this stance that we should build only from below would lead, in my opinion, to anarchy. It is possible that reality will prove that this is not so, but this is my opinion. Now in order to build from below, we must place the main emphasis on the basic organizations. Until now the party has placed emphasis on the Central Committee. When people thought of the party they said: Who are you referring to? The answer was to the Central Committee, or in a county, the county party committee.

As of today—this is of course a process—I am of the opinion that when I say the party, I am always thinking of the basic organization first. And if the basic organization as a cell will have the same qualifications and tasks in everything as a Central Committee on the national plane, then the basic organization will be able to influence the Central Committee.

The most important task of a county party committee is to serve the basic organizations. At the moment it is unbelievable, appalling, even to think of it. But real party work will only begin when the county party committee serves the basic organizations.

[Unidentified student] In so far as an internal opposition develops in the party—since I think that one is developing—what are the practical measures for us to, let us say, persuade this internal opposition, or if we do not manage to persuade it, how will we remove them? We heard in NEPSZABADSAG, obviously everyone has read it, that not so long ago four people were expelled from the MSZMP. What led to this happening? What were the antecedents, because we do not receive concrete information on this?

[Berecz] Let us divide the affair into two parts: on the one hand, the possibility of an internal opposition, and then the four people. As regards the internal opposition, one of the key issues in the party debate just now in April was what should happen with the minority, with the minority opinion. Then we came to the realization that every opinion is born in a minority, so one should not say from the outset that something is a minority. When does it become a minority—after the decision, a taking of votes. After a taking of votes, what the line is is decided, and it becomes a minority. We shall have to think separately, after the conference, about its handling, and how we should handle it in principle and in practice as well, since it would he a grave mistake to call it immediately a faction.

I shall say sincerely that I am preoccupied now with our asserting this majority opinion which took shape in the April debate. This, and not so such a lesser extent the minority, is what preoccupies me now.

What is happening with the four people? As regards the four people—by the way, I regret that it happened at the same time, because each of them should have been dealt with separately, as they did not make up an organization. They declared their views at nonparty forums without having submitted them at party forums or demanded that they be discussed and stood forth for them several times and said that we shall not yield until some competent party forum gives an opinion on this stand—as I have written down in an 180-page work. That was the main issue.

A party tolerates it with difficulty if it has members, clever and less clever ones, and they appear with their views regularly and in a prolonged manner, not at party forums, but outside them.

[Unidentified student] First, the numbers in the personnel makeup of the MSZMP have decreased; is it fit to realize every one of the goals, which have been only sketched out in the draft standpoint? Another thing: There is a sentence in the draft standpoint that pertains to the need to separate the party and the state from one another as much as possible. So, this, as well, has its personnel composition—in the party, just as in the state leadership.

[Berecz] As regards this so-called great reduction, it is around several percent—I, personally, expected 10 percent. My conviction is that this party membership is able, with a good leading guard, to renew itself. It was shown in January, and I shall return again to the January-April debates since for me it was a special experience, that the political atmosphere livened up, came to a boil, as did the wish to act, the wish to create, and the demand to have a say. It is not the same party as it was yesterday. It can be taken back to stagnation only if it is not built on, and if it then is said that the whole thing does not amount to anything.

The party will be able to renew the leading organs in the next 2 years at various forums, before there might be a congress. It will be able to demand, call to account the leaders concerning what they have undertaken, the leading organs concerning what they should have done, and in this case, it also is able to provide society with an example. We consider the showing of an example, the good work, to be the most important thing in the exercising of the party's leading role.

As regards what is meant by the separation of the various organs; this on the one hand does not mean that the party members do not take part in the government, or elsewhere, but that the government can act, decide on things, which the Politburo has not taken a stance on. Nor is it necessary for it to take a stance. It could happen, let us say, that I have a debate with the premier. It could also happen that I have a debate with him in parliament, on issues in which the government decides with full sovereignty, but, let us say, which do not please me, as the person in such a function. I am also able to imagine this, and this will happen, and it does not have to be viewed as a tragedy, and it does not have to be said that well, Grosz and Berecz are fighting with one another. No. No, there was something on which they did not agree, there is something over which they are arguing with one another. This can happen in the same way at other forums. The essence is that in some fundamental issues we should keep to the principles, and not just to the rules of the game.

[Unidentified student] Is there rivalry?

[Berecz] The possibility for there to be personal political competition appeared for the first time at the most recent election of parliamentary deputies. In the case of 2 or 3 candidates, it is natural that each of them wants himself to be elected. We gained experience. Political rivalry did not really develop in concrete cases, such as some team giving a program in favor of a candidate, or putting up small posters. So, let everyone know, in-laws, friends, that our deputy is Dr (Csoma). So this adds a little animation. The essence, of course, is not in this. The essence is that he says that in this issue, I shall support this, in the district, and I shall support that to a lesser extent, and the other one something else. So we shall reach that point; a little time, a little experience is necessary for all this.

As might concern the personal rivalry nationwide—by the way, in the past 2-3 months, the Western press and radio broadcasts have been full of little else than describing the mentioned, and other names, such as the secretary general of the Patriotic People's Front or one or another central committee secretary, and saying that they oppose or do not oppose one another. Allow me to say something. We, Comrade Grosz and I, have been political friends for a long time—it did not begin today. We became intertwined in the movement, and it was not outside of it that the friendship was born. However, we do not agree on a good number of issues. I should not like rivalry over my becoming premier, because I really do not need that position now, since it is very burdensome and entails very great responsibility. However, the atmosphere and organizational order must be created for differences in our views and our fighting for our own views until a decision is reached in favor of one of the standpoints. It is right to demand rivalry of this character.

[Unidentified student] After the party meeting, how large a role do you want to guarantee for the youth; do you want a larger role, and if so, how?

[Berecz] That is the old-type of question, that we forced the situation on you, or gave it to you, and how much do you want to guarantee. I shall say: It is in your thinking, that it should be guaranteed from above. I should like to say the following: A juridical period, the likes of which has not existed much in the history of this country, is coming. It will be a period of reform in jurisdiction. In the next 2 years, there will be a redrafting of the Constitution, or a new constitution. There will be a company law, which enables the movement—excuse me use—of property relations, and a variety of these, and this will involve, for example, the creation of registry courts; it will involve other ways of administering justice. We wish to create the constitution court. A court of administration, which defends the citizen vis-a-vis the state apparatus, is necessary. It is necessary to create a law on using the freedom to associate, the freedom to assembly. It is necessary to create a law on referendums, at the national and local levels. There still are some half-dozen laws of this type. So over 2 years there will be administerings of justice in a manner and of a number which do not guarantee, but the laws will create the opportunity for us to have a say.

[Unidentified student] Religion is spreading more and more along the young people. What is your opinion on this?

[Berecz] When the material conditions are more uncertain, when there is political complexity, when according to some people there are crisis phenomena, or there is a crisis—in my opinion they mean there are crisis phenomena—then one inevitably seeks a firm handhold. And if we, as a party, are unable to give this, or it is not hot enough emotionally, since that also is necessary, then one changes over, an old path of several thousands of years comes to the forefront, in the direction of the factor which cannot be controlled, but can be believed, or in which one can wish to believe. That is why there is a certain spread of religion, or an opportunity for it to spread. I do not consider it, in itself, to be dangerous. I consider every such persuasion to be a danger if it can be used for a politically reactionary objective, or there is a wish to use it for this. The youth must be won back from this side, as well, but naturally, not with administrative means.

[Unidentified student] We hear more and more about how much the development of education is necessary for the government's program for resurgence. Yet we find that the sums devoted to education in the budget, and in general, are getting smaller. This is a terrible contradiction.

[Berecz] First of all, the sum has not gotten smaller in absolute terms, though it is smaller in relative terms, because with a 15-16 percent inflation this year the money devoted to this purpose is worth less. During this period—this is a period of a few years—I would regard it more important to renew the atmosphere, the spirit, of education; I would regard as more important that the school collectives should be given a freer hand to decide where to put the emphasis, and in this case it would be possible for the children to choose between schools on the basis of the direction they wish to develop in. Thus, we should turn that which we inherited from the Prussian feudal school type and merely covered with a socialist coat of paint in recent decades into a genuinely socialist school. This development of internal democratism could help us to get over the relatively thin times till we can once again devote larger sums to education.

[Unidentified student] When shall we make decisions regarding this issue?

[Berecz] I am confident that the leaders who are coming to the fore will recognize that without youth there is not only no future, there is no present either.

[Unidentified student] I would like to ask you, when will there be a possibility for changing the system of admission so that everyone should be able to get in; that student should make a financial contribution to the education in line with their performance, but everyone should be able to try to get into university? I know that this would require a huge investment, but perhaps the effect of education would also increase.

[Berecz] The administration has a 4-5 year plan for realizing this. This would mean that the university admissions process would be based essentially on matriculation; the university-college admissions test would be nothing more than a test of aptitude—that can be mistaken as well, of course, but it would be a test of aptitude—and, as a corollary of all this, during the first and second years there would be a process of screenings at the universities and colleges. During the first and second years it has to be determined whether the student in question merely wants to obtain a piece of paper or really has some affinity with the institution in question. Thus, the admissions process would comprise the last 2 years of the secondary school, the matriculation and the aptitude test, and the first 2 years of university. This would be a longer process and thereby could be made a much more just one.

If I take the present requirements into consideration—either the economic or the social requirements—we cannot undertake to provide a completely free choice in this area, for everyone to be able to do what they like for a number of years, between the ages of 18 and 25, which is one of the best periods for preparation, when people are best able to acquire the highest level of knowledge. From this point of view this is a termporary situation. Then, whether after the turn of the century we shall have enough material and intellectual wealth to make choice entirely free, this is something that I do not know. However, I cannot envisage it at the present time because we have not enough wealth to allow some people to spend years doing nothing. It is not enough that someone wants to learn: The matriculation and the first 2 years will prove that the person in question not only wants to learn but indeed works and is capable of learning. Or if someone shows no aptitude for the profession in question, then it is possible to say goodbye to him during this period.

[Unidentified student] Are you taking steps to reward professionals?

[Berecz] In my view, there will not be a significant increase in their salaries from central funds during the next 2 years. On the other hand, if enterprise independence goes on growing, and if the performance of an enterprise greatly depends on the technical professionals, then they will have to reward them separately. A prosperous enterprise can do much more than a state. But let me tell you something—Raba [engineering works in Gyor] gives its scholarship-holders 5,000 forints per month. Afterwards, it takes them abroad for 6 months.

[Unidentified student] Nowadays we experience phenomena that are very contrary to the socialist principles, for example, unemployment. How can you explain this to us, young people? How can there be unemployment in a socialist country?

[Berecz] I can explain this as follows: In October 1977 the Central Committee recognized that unless we carried out a change of the product structure, we would stagnate, would not be competitive, and our debts would increase. We did not implement this resolution. We did not implement it first of all because we are a workers state, and the change of the product structure means that industrial branches must be cut, eliminated, that new ones must be created, and that people must be redeployed elsewhere.

I always refer to the Ozd [metallurgical works] example in this context. Now just imagine a family in Ozd who have been working in metallurgy for four generations and have educated their son to be a metallurgist and to be proud of belonging to the nobility of the working class—and then we have to tell them that we are closing down the whole thing. And yet it has to be closed down, because we have not done so for 10 years and the producers have paid for the loss. Not because they worked badly but because this branch and this technology have become outdated; there is no need for it in this form. Now to tell this man, and not one man but 5,000, that the world has come to an end in this area, that they must go elsewhere, this is also a personal tragedy.

[Unidentified student] How can we be sure that this unemployment is really temporary in Hungary and will not increase by the time we grow up?

[Berecz] We shall have nothing to do with pressuring the workers, with keeping them in check, with the help of unemployment. This really is an unemployment connected with the change of the product structure. It may be that this will increase to 200,000—there are economists who say that it will reach even 300,000—but in my opinion, it must drop in the second half of the nineties and it must become a natural movement, in which, incidentally, 1.5-2 percent of the workers are always out of work, because they are going somewhere else.

[Unidentified student] How do you see the acceptance of political activity by young people; what is the scope for this at present and in the future?

[Berecz] As regards the present period, my evaluation is that the party made a mistake by not devoting particular attention to youth. The change of generations—however much we are trying to make it a natural phenomenon, this is not how it goes in history or in the life of parties—takes place by a large generation replacing the other. From this point of view my evaluation is that we have now come to a big change of generations. Do not misunderstand me; this is not something affecting one person—this is something that affects an entire party leadership and an entire state leadership. This does not mean that, let us say, on 23 May an entirely new guard will stand at the head of the party; what it means is that during the next 2 or 3 years the leadership must be entirely renewed in age as well. No, leadership is not a good word, because it means the process of leading; it is the set of leaders who must be renewed, and this will provide a great opportunity for young people to engage in politics, directly with this purpose.

But this is not the main purpose; the main purpose is that without the activity, the opinion-forming, and the opinion-shaping of the young people who are gradually entering productive and intellectual work, we cannot find a way out of our present situation. After all, by now it is not our but your future that is at stake.

[Unidentified student] Two, three, or four generations ago, youth had a task. But what is our task?

[Berecz] A very exciting period is coming up for today's young people. They should learn to express their views and then they should try to realize them; they should learn to tolerate the contrary views of older people or people of their own generation, to take them into consideration, to allow them to clash; they should learn to create a program, to fight to have it accepted, and to participate in its implementation. In my view, we are living very exciting times. [end recording]

[Presenter] The conversation went on, of course, and the students would like to carry on with this new initiative; they would like to meet people every month who can help to answer their questions.

Further Commentary, Coverage of Work Stoppages

Commentary on Strikes, Respect of Law

AU1105151688 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 May 88 p 3

["WO"-signed commentary: "What Is Involved?"]

[Text] When the first work stoppages took place at certain plants, the economic demands announced by striking workers were received by the public with mixed feelings. This was because first, people still did not know what the effects of the price rises would be and second, this seems more important, they could remember the results of the similar demands that were made a few years ago. At that time the authorities gave in. The results were regrettable—the circulation of too much money had a devastating impact on the market and left shops empty. Thus, people were afraid to see this situation repeat itself.

But some of the striking workers have not limited their demands to those involving economics. Demands of a clearly political character have appeared. And these would appear to be in keeping with what has recently been discussed openly and candidly in our state, that is to say, the further democratization of sociopolitical life. But the slogans that have appeared on factory and university gates have contained different elements: pluralism, but not socialist pluralism, equal rights but not for everyone. Thus, it seems that the same things are being discussed. But, in fact, that is not the case.

Those have formulated these slogans and calls do not want to note the changes and transformations that are taking place in our country.

But the following question can be asked: When, in the last 40 years, viewed objectively, have we witnessed a period of such important and far-reaching changes? The answer is definitely that we have not. Can what has been announced in terms of wishes and intentions and what has actually done be considered completely satisfactory? The answer also has to be negative, because public expectations have in this respect become very great—some say too great.

But the question that arises is whether extortion, blackmail, and undermining the rule of law is a way of changing the existing state of affairs and accelerating change? We have already been through these lessons, and we know that at a certain point the escalation of pressure and demands turns into chaos and disintegration that threatens the existence of the state itself.

There is no government anywhere in the world that can allow—because it cannot do so—laws to be broken. And this also applies to trade union legislation, which was illustrated by the recent decision to end the solidarity strike being staged by British merchant seamen; the decision being based on the law. Perhaps our trade union law is not perfect, but it is a legal act and, as in every other civilized state, it should be observed. As Poland is a civilized state, it has a duty to maintain fundamental standards of political life. This is a duty that everyone has, including those who describe themselves as adversaries in the debate over the role of law in Poland and the reality that it is meant to shape.

What conditions should apply in the discussion within society, with society, and between its various levels and groups? Is it to be dialogue, debate, or open disagreement? This is a fundamental question, unless the intention is not one of discussion but of destroying the foundations of the state's existence and the legal order that regulates life within the country and determines the state's position in the international arena. Ultimately, others assess us on the basis of whether we are capable of running our economy efficiently and making society capable of meeting immediate and long-term challenges. And what is also important in this respect is the state's ability to guarantee conditions for the attainment of these goals.

Work Resumes in Gdansk Shipyard

AU1805115788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 May 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Work on Building Ships Has Resumed"]

[Text] On 12 May, in department K-2 of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the keel was laid for the first of a series of fish-processing vessels for the Soviet Union. This is the prototype of a vessel that will process up to 300 tonnes of fish in 24 hours and produce 10,000 cans of fish preserves in 1 hour.

Thursday was the first day of work by the entire shipyard since the 10-day stoppage. According to information from the shipyard management, 8,300 people out of a total of 10,800 employees resumed work on that day. Absenteeism amounted to about 2,000 persons, consisting of workers on vacation, sick leave, training, and so on.

The shipyard's press spokesman, Wlodzimierz Ziolkowski, told PAP's Gdansk correspondent that 600 failed to turn up for reasons that are unknown. He also said that power consumption in the afternoon was 13.5 megawatts, with an average of 14.5 megawatts.

Marian Truszkowski, a supervisor in department K-2 who was working on the keel for the Soviet-destined fishing vessel, said that it was too early to say what had happened in the shipyard recently, but added that talks by employees are revolving around the shipyard's economic-financial situation. He noted that people returned to work with great relief that the strike was over. Truszkowski thinks this is because the dockers quite simply feel the need for good work, and realize the need for their enterprise to complete orders from clients on time. Everyone in my team has shown up for work, as well as in other teams in this department, he said.

According to preliminary estimates, the shipyard has suffered about Z2 billion of losses because of the 10-day stoppage. Some 500,000 working hours were lost. The management is discussing how to make good the losses. Zdzislaw Miedziarek, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Industry, visited the shipyard on Thursday in order to discuss this very issue.

Right now, nine vessels are in the refitting stage at the Gdansk Shipyard, and six are already on launching chutes. They include two sailing ships, two timber carriers, a bulk carrier for a Finnish client, and the prototype fishing vessel mentioned above. One of the timber carriers should be launched in May, and the trawler "Tetman Hette," destined for a Dutch client, will commence sea trials on the Baltic. The shipyard's plans for this year call for the sale of 10-11 vessels.

PZPR Politburo Discusses Special Powers Report

LD1805210088 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 18—The PUWP CC Political Bureau on Tuesday heard a government report on decisions and measures prepared to be taken in connection with the implementation of the parliamentary law on special powers for the Council of Ministers.

Attention was drawn to the necessity to take advantage of these powers solely in order to enhance and accelerate the process of applying the solutions of the second stage of economic reforms, to curb inflationary phenomena and restore economic equilibrium.

First Decisions Under Special Powers [subhead]

The government's first decision pertain to protection of the home market, limitation of price growth and of excessive outflow of money into the market, reduction of the scale of capacity investment projects and improvement of efficiency of investment projects' completion.

In the nearest future, the extraordinary powers are to be used to hold responsible directors of state enterprises and presidents of co-operatives who allowed improper economic relations within their companies, and particularly, those who tolerated high price and pay growth with simultaneous drop in production and work productivity.

Decisions are in preparation to transfer a considerable number of state enterprises under the founding authority of People's Councils, liquidate non-effective economic units and divide certain multi-plant enterprises into smaller units capable of autonomous operation, development and competitiveness.

Changes in 1986-1990 Plan [subhead]

The Political Bureau made a preliminary consideration of directions of changes and supplements to the 1986-1990 National Socio-Economic Plan. The country's economic situation and acceleration of economic reforms further enhance the need to ease the economy's burden by cutting certain long-term and capital-consuming investment projects, to earmark additional funds for restructuring operations that would ensure an economy of fuels and raw materials, and to increase exports capability.

Respective plans of the foreign trade and internal market must be adjusted to altered conditions, and first of all, more effective measures must be taken in order to increase market supplies.

The proposed directions of changes correspond with opinions of both Polish and foreign experts, but they require, however, further in-depth analyses, and especially, taking into consideration economic evaluations of the 1988 first six months.

Changes in Co-Operative Sector [subhead]

The Political Bureau was acquainted with draft changes of the organizational structure and operation principles of the co-operative sector as prepared by the party-government commission for review and modernization of the economy's and the state's organizational structures.

There are 14,600 co-operatives operational in Poland, and they group some 15 million members and employ 2.2 million people.

The Political Bureau was critical of over-developed and bureaucracy-ridden structures of the co-operative sector. It is imperative that they be rationalized.

In particular, economic bonds between members and their co-operative must be reinforced, while economic autonomy of particular co-operatives should be increased.

Consolidation of Sejm's Role [subhead]

The PUWP CC Political Bureau also discussed conclusions stemming from meetings of the PUWP Deputies' and independent deputies' clubs with representatives of party leadership.

The PUWP Club's key task was found to be further consolidation of the constitutional role and function of the Sejm, as well as stepping up of efficiency of its governing, legislative and control actions.

The Political Bureau found that in the course of the current parliamentary tenure links between constituents and deputies-club members had been tightened.

Moreover, the Bureau deemed it apt to hold one of the plenary sessions of the PUWP Central Committee with the participation of the entire PUWP Deputies' Club.

The Political Bureau approved of the report on talks held in Krakow and Gdansk by Chairman of the Council of Minister's Committee for Observance of Law, Public Order and Social Discipline Czeslaw Kiszczak.

Messner Signs Council of Ministers Ordinance

LD1805191688 Warsaw PAP in English
1808 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 18—Today, Premier Zbigniew Messner signed a Council of Ministers' Ordinance dated May 13th, 1988, on the carrying out of some of the regulations of the law on special powers granted to the Council of Ministers. Premier Messner also established a team for the realization of the Council of Ministers' special powers.

"The provisions of the first ordinance of the Council of Ministers prepared on the basis of the special powers are, first and foremost, aimed at the re-establishment of an equilibrium," said the government spokesman for the reform, Jerzy Malkowski.

Below are certain regulations of the ordinance which Jerzy Malkowski spoke about during a press conference held here today at the government's press office:

— Enterprises which fail to maintain the volume of supplies to the domestic market at last year's level will lose profit tax allowances connected with export production and tax allowances connected with excessive wage payments.

— Fiscal offices will have the right to postpone price increases planned by enterprises for a period of up to six months.

— Enterprises whose obligations resulting from the tax on excessive wage payments exceed 25 percent of their planned profit have to inform fiscal offices about this fact. Furthermore, they will lose the right to systemic tax allowances. They will also have to pay a 50 percent higher tax.

— Banned is the undertaking by all economic units (both socialized and private) of all investments projects concerning the construction of administration buildings or other spatial investments unless they are connected with the technical and social infrastructure. The ban does not concern housing construction, investments in agriculture and the food industry, as well as investment projects undertaken jointly with western partners.

— Enterprises which have delays in the realization of continued investments will not be able to allocate funds to new investment projects.

The above mentioned ordinance should be published during the nearest few days. It will come into force on the day of announcement.

Jerzy Malkowski stressed that the ordinance only partially utilized the powers awarded to the Council of Ministers. Another batch of decisions will mainly concern proeffectiveness undertakings, that is, organizational and structural changes, the division of enterprises, elimination of the least effective ones, rationalization of employment. Malkowski also stressed that the hitherto applied criteria of effectiveness will remain in force.

Malkowski Discusses Production, Price Increases

LD1805210688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 18 May 88

[Interview with government reform spokesman Jerzy Malkowski by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] The Government Press Office has issued information on the first specific decisions made by the government based on the Law on Extraordinary Powers and Prerogatives of the Council of Ministers. These decisions will come into effect as early as this week.

[Correspondent] Dr Malkowski, do these specific decisions concern experts and enterprises, or do they concern the general public, for example our television viewers?

[Malkowski] The construction of the recommendations is such that primarily the people should feel their effect, not only people employed in enterprises but also customers and consumers. Talk for example the export problem: It's a well known and important issue: Should we manufacture for the home market or for export? Both aims are very important. But the issue is to maintain the proper ratio. According to the recommendations, only the enterprises that export a lot of goods and at the same look after the correct ration of domestic production will be eligible for benefits. Their domestic production output should not fall below, at least, the 1987 level.

Another matter is prices. It is difficult to find an economic issue more sensitive for citizens. These are negotiated prices. But because the market is still in ruins to a considerable degree, we must supervise these prices. For this reason we are extending this supervision so enterprises are obligated to announce their intention to raise negotiated prices and to take into account that the treasury can postpone for as long as 6 months the introduction of these new, high prices, when they turn out to be very high.

[Correspondent] That means in many cases, in practice, postponement until the end of this year.

[Malkowski] It depends on when the prices are announced. But sometimes it will mean the end of this year, if the prices are announced by the end of the first half of the year.

Messner Views Issues, Relations With Yugoslavia

LD1805172288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1356 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 18 (TANJUG)—The more recent years have been among the best ever in Polish-Yugoslav relations, Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner, who is due in Belgrade tomorrow, told Yugoslav correspondents in Warsaw today.

Messner said that the bilateral economic relations would be in the focus of his upcoming talks with Yugoslav Federal Premier Branko Mikulic.

Asked about Poland's internal problems, Polish Premier Messner said that the Polish Government would use the special powers it had gained on May 11 to push through the second phase of social reforms. He said that the Polish Government would soon submit to the national legislature bills which envisage greater freedoms in economic activities, regardless of the type of ownership. In that context, Messner singled out the bill on mixed enterprises, which will permit foreign investments in the Polish economy.

Asked to comment on the causes and consequences of the latest wave of strikes and demonstrations in the country, Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner said that, despite the overall positive economic results, the standard of living had risen only insignificantly. Messner stated the opinion that a four-percent drop in pays last year and a break with wage levelling were at the core of the mounting dissatisfaction in the country.

Premier Messner set out, however, that the causes of the "illegal strikes" were not of an economic nature in all instances. Opponents of socialism in Poland made attempts at using the strikes for their own ends, he specified but assessed that Poland was now, nevertheless, closer to the goal of "socialist reconstruction" than it had been seven years ago.

Comparing the processes underway in Poland and other socialist countries, Messner underscored that many Polish solutions were concurrent with the directions of "perestroyka" (restructuring) in the Soviet Union.

Interviewed by SFRY Media

LD1805180088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0908 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, 18 May (TANJUG)—The last few years have been among the best in our cooperation. Establishing the reasons for a certain stagnation in our economic relations will be one of the themes of my talks with FEC President Branko Mikulic. We intend jointly to seek ways to overcome this stagnation.

This was stated to correspondents of TANJUG, BORBA, and POLITIKA in Warsaw, Dragomir Pavlovic, Nikola Burzan, and Ilija Marinovic, by Poland Premier Zbigniew Messner before his visit tomorrow to Yugoslavia. The Polish premier called for higher forms of economic cooperation since he considered that the potentials of traditional mutual trade were limited. Zbigniew Messner also answered questions from the Yugoslav journalists on the current situation in Poland and on international problems.

[Question] The complex socioeconomic situation in Poland automatically raises itself as a theme for the start of this conversation. The government has gained special powers. How will these be used? Will they restrain unfavorable trends in the economy and lead to the more rapid introduction of new economic mechanisms—without threatening the process of democratization?

[Answer] The aim of the special powers that the Sejm gave to the Council of Ministers on 11 May is above all to overcome the resistance and obstructions encountered by the radicalization of reform, and the implementation of its second stage, as we in Poland put it.

The actual nature of the powers bears witness to this as do the first decisions that we have taken on the basis of them. The government is resolute, as I stressed in the Sejm, that it will consistently carry out the demands and apply the mechanisms of a reformed economy. Under no circumstances do we intend to return to a centralized system of direction and distribution. Furthermore, very soon we will propose to the Sejm plans for new legal measures on the basis of the "Program for Realizing the Second Stage of Economic Reform." This concerns, among other things, a law that will regulate the undertaking of new economic activities, which will lead to greater freedom in economic activity, equality between all the subjects, regardless of the form of ownership, and to a completely voluntary basis for their association. Also in preparation is a law on mixed enterprises with the participation of foreign capital. Economic reform and the process of socialist renewal are firmly linked to one another. It could be said that the success of one of these processes is at the same time both a condition for and a consequence of the success of the other. Therefore there is no question of the special powers representing a retreat from renewal.

[Question] In Polish society there is dissatisfaction with the serious material situation. Cases of resistance to reforms and to democratization are also noticeable. Recently, this has come to the point of strikes and demonstrations. How can this be ovecome? What are the long-term aims of the Polish reforms and in what way do they differ from similar processes in other socialist countries?

[Answer] I will begin with a correction. In Polish society there is no resistance to democratization. On the contrary, there exists a general expectation that further progress will be made along this path, which we have been constantly traveling since the ninth PZPR congress and which was reaffirmed at the 10th party congress.

The government understands the difficult material situation of many families. We have spoken about this on several occasions. In the framework of the possibilities of the state budget, we have ensured social support for the sectors of society most threatened.

Our situation is a special one in that despite the overall favorable economic results of recent years improvement for the individual remains too small to be clearly felt. However, one must not forget how low the level was from which the economy started at the beginning of the eighties when the consequences of mistakes in economic policy in the preceding decade had accumulated; nor shold one forget the paralysis caused by the activity of anti-socialist forces and the destructive influence of the West on Poland.

Another factor that has affected the social atmosphere is the increasingly greater differentiation in incomes in keeping with the slogan "living standards according to the results of your work." This conflicts with many years of egalitarian custom. Besides this, real wages last year remained at the same level, if one does not take into account the increase in price of alcohol and tabacco. If you do take these price increases into account, they fell by about 4 percent.

An extreme form in which dissatisfaction manifested itself were illegal strikes. I stress the word "illegal." Our judiciary envisages the strike as the last phase in a collective dispute in the case where other forms of resolving the dispute have not succeeded. However in these cases, which were anyway small in number, the strike was the first step. Not all of these reactions had a purely economic basis. In fact it cannot be said that there are low wages everywhere. But, particularly in heavy industry, the instruments and mechanisms of reform for various reasons continue to have the most weakly felt effects. It is, however, a fact that there were attempts by opponents of socialism in Poland to make political use of these illegal strikes.

The fact that these protest actions, which were calculated to succeed spectacularly, were extinguished bears witness above all to the feeling of responsibility of the great majority of employees and represents proof of the increasing awareness that illegal strikes will not remove current difficulties and still less will they solve any of the basic problems in the development of Poland.

As far as the endangered aims of Polish reform are concerned, from the beginning of the decade we have been trying to deepen socialist democracy in sociopolitical life. We have already done much along these lines, as can be seen from, for example, the effects of the Consultative Council of the Chairman of the Council of State, which draws together representatives of different, sometiomes mutually opposed, ideological and political views, or the founding of the institutions of the ombudsman and the constitutional court. Elections for the People's Councils will soon be held according to a new, democratized electoral law. And I could give more such examples.

In the economy the main aim continues to be the creation and strengthening of the capability for harmonious and dynamic development. This is not an easy task, but today we are without doubt closer to it than we were, say, 7 years ago.

Frankly speaking, when we compare processes in Poland and other socialist countries, we are looking more for similarities than differences. For example, there is no doubt that many of our solutions are identical with the directions of perestroyka, which was initiated by the Soviet Communist Party and its General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. We are following reforms in other countries of the socialist community with great attention. We are acquainting ourselves with Yugoslav experiences with interest. There is no doubt that we all set the same objectives to ourselves: the strengthening of socialism, improving living and working conditions, consolidating peace.

[Question] How do you assess the situation in the world, primarily in the struggle for a new economic order in the conditions of increasingly exacerbated problems of debts and debt repayments?

[Answer] Apart from the basic questions of peace and security, the problems of economic cooperation are undoubtedly among the most burning in the contemporary world. The phenomenon of economic discrimination, the creation of barriers to cooperation, unequitable treatment of partners, all these present an essential danger in the development of not only individual, and in this way harmed, countries, but also of the entire international community.

In Poland we are so much more aware of this because of the restrictions with which the West has burdened economic cooperation with us since 1982. These restrictions have caused losses in our economy estimated at 15 billion dollars. These restrictions have already been formally abolished, but the practice of our economic, and in particular financial and credit relations with capitalist countries is still far from the old, fully normal situation. The fact that we still have to pay most of our exports in cash, a phenomenon that does not exist in modern economic cooperation, is a proof of this.

In Poland, as in Yugoslavia, we are struggling with the problem of a serious foreign debt. In an obvious way this limits our development possibilities—every year around 2 billion dollars of our national income goes abroad.

In our negotiations with creditors, we present the view that servicing and repaying debts can only be the expression of the growth of national income, increased and more modern production, growing exports, and not exclusively of limiting expenditure. In other words, we must steadily create conditions for the development of our economy—and our creditors are duty bound to take part in this—as a condition for repaying our commitments.

We are also undertaking international initiatives in order to solve this increasingly big problem. One of them is the initiative by Wojciech Jaruzelski, which he presented at the 40th UN General Assembly session, to found an international center for research into debts and development in Krakow.

[Question] At the end, would you please say something about traditionally good and friendly Yugoslav-Polish relations. However, recently our economic cooperation has stagnated. Why? How do you assess Yugoslav-Polish relations in general and prospects for their improvement and widening, in particular in the economic sphere?

[Answer] First of all I would like to say that these relations have recently been among the best in our cooperation. This, among other things, is shown by the intensity of contacts at the highest party-state level, as well as the level of the parliaments of the two countries and their governments. Various forms of cooperation between social organizations, as well as direct human contacts are steadily widening. It does not hurt to mention that Yugoslav-Polish relations have far wider dimensions than just political contacts and economic cooperation, they also include such areas as science, culture, and tourism.

Establishing the causes of delays in our economic relations will be one of the themes of my talks with Comrade Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC. We intend to jointly seek ways to overcome such delays.

There is no doubt that chances to widen cooperation exist, among other things, in using new, more modern forms of economic cooperation, since the opportunities to strengthen traditional forms—such as for example, trade—are increasingly limited.

However, one will be able to say more about our joint intentions only after the end of our talks in Belgrade.

Interviewed by SFRY Television

LD1805223888 Warsaw PAP in English
2119 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 18—On the eve of the official, friendly visit of Polish Minister Zbigniew Messner to Yugoslavia, the local TV broadcast an interview with him this evening.

Answering the question, Messner described the Polish economic reform, stressed the concerted efforts aimed at reforms in the social and political life in Poland, and to increasing the public involvement in running the state.

Referring to the Polish-Yugoslav relations, Premier Messner emphasized that Yugoslavia is very close to Poland and voiced an opinion that upcoming bilateral talks may be very advantageous, especially in their aspect of general dynamics of changes taking place in socialist countries.

Glowczyk Examines 'Revaluation' of Socialism

LD1805223088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2005 GMT 18 May 88

["Excerpts" of speech by Jan Glowczyk, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, in Piotrkow Trybunalski at a joint plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the ZSL Voivodship Committee; date not given— recorded]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues and esteemed comrades. The world and socialism are at a turning point. Almost everything is undergoing revaluation—even the system of relations between states, and national relations between social strata and classes. How much deeper we see now the role of individual and bonds linking individuals with the community. In some communities these changes are taking place by evolution; in others the rate and scope of changes are almost of revolutionary character.

Are these changes of benefit to socialism? This is a question often asked by the party and also among its allies and opponents; and it can also be replied to by questions: Is the new thinking on relations between states, and on issues of war and peace of benefit to socialism? Is socialism weakened by the constant liberation of new states and nations from imperialist control? Is it dangerous for socialism that a rehabilitation of humanism, people's power, self-management, the principles of rational management, and a return to the Leninist principle that nothing which is socially important cannot be hidden from the communtiy are taking place in the states which are building socialism?

Seven years ago, at the ninth congress, we decided to rid ourselves of the political and economic chaos [words indistinct] by, an as yet untrodden way of socialist renewal, by way of struggle against all backwardness, by way of reform and national accord.

During the introduction of the reform we have learned and gained experience. Conservative trends have appeared, as have errors and retarding forces, which were favored by Western calculations. Thus, we had to seek fresh development incentives, more radical, new solutions, being convinced that the reform would also create the need for periodical (?price rises). Political reforms have been also bravely laid down by the 10th congress. They are aimed at the democratization of social relations. A path has been opened for broadening the national accord platform which will be opened to a multitude of views and to socialist pluralism. This has been attacked in recent weeks. An attempt was made to make use of understandable concern with regard to changes which accompany a transition to more intensive forms of management. This concern includes the fear of disturbing [word indistinct] budget, and concern that the reform will alter the traditional hierarchy of industries, enterprises, and rights.

However, there is no doubt that not for all strike participants, but for the strike organizers, attempts were also made to violate the social peace in Poland, to slow down the socialist reforms, and not only in our country, and also to disturb the useful developing dialogue between states of different systems.

The situation was however resolved by the wise majority, the forces of Polish society. Despite being critical and impatient, these forces want to resolve our own Polish problems in peace, they want to extend democracy and want a more open formula for national accord, and they also know that strikes, bringing moral and economic ruin, do not lead to this aim. Groups which were small but well organized and supported from outside, did not meet with support in great enterprises, including in Gdansk, and also in the Gdansk shipyard. History does not like to repeat itself. This fact precisely was not understood by the ageing Solidarity veterans.

The English GUARDIAN, in its editorial of 12 May this year, described that fact in this manner: In fact, there were people in the West who were longing for the years 1980-81 to repeat themselves. For that reason they did not want to see the great differences between that period and the present day, neither did they want to see what great poverty all that would bring to ordinary Poles. Whoever attempts to persuade others to suffer for his own beliefs is always under suspicion.

I would like to add the following thought: Those of our citizens who for years have been acting as exponents of foreign interests in Poland, Consequently caused a fall in the prestige of the United States among Polish society. At present only 23 percent of Poles consider the United States as being friendly to Poland. This opinion is unfortunately also applied to the U.S. nation. I say unfortunately because it is a wonderful people, of which some 12 million are of Polish origin. However, only 32 percent of our citizens who have been polled declared themselves friendly toward Americans.

But there were and there are many historical reasons for the United States and for Americans to be of high standing in the eyes of Polish society. Only in the seventies 48 percent of Poles regarded the United States as a country friendly to Poland. What has happened is the result of an instrumental attack on Poland, the achievement of badly chosen friends by the United States in Poland and an achievement of representatives of the so-called independent opposition, which, as everyone knows, is openly financed from abroad.

One may thus be surprised that the great powers, having at their disposal a great machine for gathering information, have for so long depended on deceptive informers and helpers.

Esteemed comrades. In our society great stores of untapped energy are amassed and they cannot be released without the bold knowledge of Polish socialism, and for whose fulfilment it is worth working more than duty demands and longer than the labor code requires. We have nowhere to retreat to. We must bring ourselves to act so that we can overcome the difficulties and we must not allow the difficulties to overcome us. I believe a chance has arisen for deeds and not words. It depends on us as to whether we utilize this chance.

Club Decries Government's Inaction

AU1805145088 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 15 May 88 p 3

[Article signed "O.K.": "Polish Prospects"]

[Text] On 25 March of this year, the "Dziekania" Club of Political Thought held another panel discussion in the "Roma" building in Warsaw on the subject of "Polish prospects." Stanislaw Stomma (chairman of the club), Miroslaw Dzielski, Aleksander Hall, and Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz were members of the panel.

Prof S. Stomma explained that the "Dziekania" Club had been inactive, because it was necessary to reach a decision on legalizing the club. The decision to do so was reached, he said, but some members preferred to leave the club. We should legalize and normalize life in Poland insofar as possible, S. Stomma said and recalled the situation in which TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY had come into being after the war and the "Znak" club of Sejm deputies was established in 1956. In both these cases the question about the meaning of legalized activities was answered affirmatively, and this has produced more advantages than disadvantages. The legalized existence of institutions such as the "Dziekania" Club is especially necessary now, because we live in a period of transition—in a period in which it is possible to speak in the Sejm about Katyn, on the one hand, and in which the bill on elections to the people's councils (passage deleted in line with the law on the control of publications and public performances of 31 August 1981, Article 2, Item 6, THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE Issue 20, Position 99; and THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE Issue 44, Position 104, 1983) [this censorship formulation henceforth referred to as "passage deleted by censor"] (which does not have to signify the end of socialism, because socialism can exist in various forms) and important changes are taking place. S. Stomma referred to current Soviet changes which, he thought, might exert a considerable influence on events in our country. The governing circles will certainly not surrender their power, but it is possible and necessary to prod them toward democratic reforms. That this is possible is attested to by the fact the present achievements in religious life, national culture, and agriculture have been possible within the framework of the existing system. Legalization of the "Dziekania" Club should facilitate activities in favor of desirable changes in our system.

Miroslaw Dzielski's speech referred primarily to economic reforms during the period of transition we live in. He said that ridding the economic reform of politics and basing it on market mechanisms are the condition for the proper reform of the economy. We have reached a point, he said, when the economy "run by command" is no longer able to stand on its feet. What is emerging is the issue of individual and collective, national responsibility for the crisis. Individually, the Polish crisis experiences from time to time some relief even on account of such measures as travel to the West to earn money, but the real problem is to overcome the crisis on the national level. The reform of the economy depends on the entire nation and not only on the government. The economic reform is a political issue through and through, and if it fails, the results will be fatal in every way. That is why one should not shrink from cooperation with the authorities in order to implement the market economy. Economic associations, which, of course, operate legally, should combine political prudence with economic radicalism, M. Dzielski said.

Agreeing that it is necessary to carry through radical economic reforms, Aleksander Hall drew attention to the recent political situation. This situation has been influenced, first, by a change in the nation (passage deleted by censor) changes in the USSR. These changes, A. Hall said, are not camouflage, but a genuine attempt to reform the Soviet state from above. Stalinism continues to be unmasked in the USSR on a large scale, but the echo of this in our country is feeble. The repressive nature of the Soviet system has been curbed. The character of the Soviet press is changing. The attitude of the USSR in the international arena has changed. This process is still continuing and may break down, but we could hardly rejoice in such a case, because what is taking place in the East is creating great opportunities for us. First of all, our political life has become freer (passage deleted by censor), in addition an opportunity has been created to settle anew our relations with the USSR.

However, this great opportunity is not being duly exploited in our country, A. Hall said. It is true that some attempts continue to be made to reform the economy and that censorship has also been relaxed, but the government, which bears the main responsibility for this state of affairs, has actually done nothing to introduce a new quality into its relations with society. Many associations continue to have difficulties with registration, and that is why people fear that our historic opportunities may be wasted irrevocably. (passage deleted by censor)

Disputing Miroslaw Dzielski's statements, Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz declared that in our country it is impossible to dissociate politics from the economy; (passage deleted by censor). That is why one should be careful when entering into partnership with it. P. Hniedziewicz stressed the need to create mechanisms that are able to meet the requirements of the country and the nation and said that activities to this effect were lacking and that our opportunities were represented by the nation itself, which in the past few years has become more inclined to think for itself and has rid itself of ideological illusions.

After a break the participants in the general discussion disputed mainly the controversial statements made by Miroslaw Dzielski, but had no reservations against the general stance of political pragmatism and common sense in seeking to heal Polish social and economic life.

PRC Trade Union Delegation Visits

LD1605192988 Warsaw PAP in English
1748 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 16—An official delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, with its chairman and vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the All China Assembly of People's Representatives Ni Zhifu, are visiting Poland on the invitation from the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ).

During their talks with OPZZ leaders today, the Chinese guests showed interest in the situation of Polish union movement, especially in the role of union organizations in the process of rescuing the Polish economy from crisis. They also described the scale and extensiveness of the reforms taking place in the Chinese economy.

At a meeting with activists of the nation-wide union organizations the Chinese delegates discussed in full detail the forms and methods of work employed by the Chinese trade unions in their protection of the working people's interests.

Tours Krakow

LD1705230788 Warsaw PAP in English
1950 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Krakow, May 17—A delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions with its chairman and vice-chairman of the standing committee of the all-China Assembly of People's representatives Ni Zhifu, now on a visit to Poland, stayed in Krakow on Tuesday.

The Chinese guests visited the Lenin steelworks here. At a meeting with managers and trade union activists, they acquainted themselves with the current economic problems of the steelworks and with the role and tasks fulfilled by the steelworks trade union organization in the life of the combine.

In the afternoon the guests visited the former Nazi death camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. Paying tribute to the memory of the four million victims of the camp, the delegation laid flowers at the execution wall by the death block and at the international monument to victims of fascism in Brzezinka (Birkenau).

Visits Poznan

LD1805211088 Warsaw PAP in English
1900 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Poznan, May 18—An official delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions with President Ni Zhifu, now on a visit to Poland, toured the western city of Poznan on Wednesday.

The Chinese unionists, accompanied by leaders of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) with Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, visited the Poznan Rolling Bearings Works where they met with unionist activists and discussed the crew's labor conditions and living standards.

They also held talks with the party and administration authorities of the Poznan Voivodship. The Chinese were briefed on the most important socio-political and economic problems of the Poznan City and Voivodship.

Egyptian Official Visits 13-17 May

LD1705225588 Warsaw PAP in English
1900 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 17—Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt Ahmad Hatatah paid a visit here between May 13-17 at the invitation from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The guest was received by Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski and Minister of Culture and Art Aleksander Krawczuk.

In the course of political consultations the sides surveyed the implementation of settlements ensuing from the last year's visit to Egypt by Prime Minister Messner, appreciated the enlivening of bilateral relations and political dialogue as well as progress recorded in mutual trade and economic cooperation.

Views were also exchanged concerning key international and regional problems, focusing particularly on the Middle East matters. The sides confirmed their convergent stands towards the problems in question, condemned Israel's repressive policy towards Palestinians on the occupied Arab territories, and called for convening international Middle East conference.

Mr Hatatah discussed economic and commercial issues with the Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Janusz Kaczurba.

'Fixed Model' of Socialist Construction Rejected

AU1805124188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1126 GMT 18 May 88

["Wide, Innovating and Realistic Conception on International Solidarity"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/5/1988—The Romanian Communist Party steadily and continuingly works for the promotion of the new, revolutionary conception about international solidarity in the current epoch, writes daily SCINTEIA in a commentary in its May 18 issue. The daily stresses that this conception, articulated after the 9th congress of the party, projects a wide opening to the whole of the advanced forces, of all progressive, realistic movements engrossed in the struggle for renewing changes, for the democratization of international life, the removal of a nuclear catastrophe and securing of peace. The correctness of this orientation was confirmed by facts and reaffirmed by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu in his exposition at the April 29 meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP.

The content and forms of manifestation of international solidarity today make a problem of utmost importance, both theoretically and practically as the struggle for the removal of the nuclear danger and the achievement of disarmament necessarily requires the united and unitary action of all progressive, democratic, realistic forces of the world today, writes SCINTEIA.

The theses advanced in the exposition, the daily mentions, express the necessity to strengthen the unity and collaboration of the communist and worker parties, as an essential, fundamental requisite of fulfilment of their historic mission, of speeding up the world revolutionary process.

Emphasis is placed on the great importance of strengthening the links between the communist and worker parties in the socialist countries, these relations playing a decisive role in the development of the friendship and multilateral collaboration among the peoples and states that build the new system. The RCP has constantly highlighted the requirement that the differences of views, the divergencies should not turn into attacks, should not lead to severed or impaired relations among socialist countries, but they should be discussed in a principled manner, in a spirit of mutual esteem and regard with the fundamental common interests being deemed above anything else.

Considering the so multifarious and varied conditions in which the parties carry on activity, SCINTEIA writes, it is inevitable that differences of views exist on some questions, forms and methods of action, various ways in which one problem or another is settled. That is why, there can be no fixed, stiff, formulae and compulsory patterns of activity. Consequently, nobody can claim to know everything and prescribe "recipes" for others. Every party has the duty to autonomously settle the issues of socialist construction. The way of thinking relying upon the existence of a "leading center" has not only been invalidated, but rendered more and more anachronical and sent to the fringes of life.

Interesting is also another aspect—the commentary stresses, pointing out that the communist parties in the socialist countries today are preoccupied with the settlement of the various issues of improving the activity, of removing some shortcomings. Or, there can be no fixed model, pattern or recipe for the improvement of this activity, for the settlement of the issues emerging in this process, just as there is no pattern or recipe for the unfolding of socialist construction. The socialist countries started from differing stages, were faced with differing issues, there can be no question of mechanical uniformity: Every country has its own methods of building the new system and elaborates its own, specific measures for the improvement of construction according to concrete requirements.

The daily also highlights the RCP principled position as to the strengthening of the collaboration and solidarity with the communist parties, the organization of meetings and exchanges of views, based on equality and mutual regard and, generally, the usefulness of meetings, of international or regional reunions on matters of mutual interest, especially in the domains of disarmament and peace, of defending mankind's vital interests. Sure, the commentary shows, such meetings can only have a consultative character, as the very idea of adopting documents with a character of directive or containing compulsory tasks for the participating parties is out of question. It is known that the only fora that can set tasks are the legitimate, elected fora of every party. The RCP steadily campaigns for a new, higher unity, of the communist and worker parties, that entails the establishment of firm norms and principles, most strictly observed. It is about new principles of relations—equality, autonomy, noninterference in internal affairs of the other, observance of every party's right and obligation to its own working class, to its own people, to establish its own political line, strategy and tactics, according to their fundamental interests, to the conditions in which it carries on activity.

The theses comprised in the exposition made by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the daily shows, emphasize again the RCP principled orientation that considers that the duty of everyone is to reject any forms or phenomena of a nature to create splittings, to combat chauvinism, nationalism, as manifestations alien to the conception of socialism. The exposition approaches an aspect of particular theoretical and practical interest referring to the problems of forms of manifestation of solidarity, including the problem of military assistance. The notion of solidarity—SCINTEIA writes—requires an expression of sympathy, political and diplomatic support, firm backing in international fora of the just cause of peoples in their struggle for freedom and progress, which does not exclude other forms of support—material and financial. But this does not at all mean military intervention, the substitution of the respective people's action through the action of expedition forces. The RCP considers that the export of revolution, the misinterpretation of solidarity for interference, the presentation of military intervention as a form of solidarity are unacceptable and harmful as experience has shown that it is only those forms of social organization which meet people's aspirations and avail of subjective and objective conditions that are viable.

The concept of international solidarity consistently promoted by the RCP has as an essential element the requirement of the development of collaboration internally and internationally, among the communist, worker and socialist and social-democratic parties and with progressive and democratic ruling parties in the developing and non-aligned countries. In the spirit of the same consistent orientation, the RCP expresses its solidarity with the liberation movements engaged in the struggle for the liberation of the last vestiges of colonialism, of the racist policy, so that all people may fulfil their aspirations at living in freedom and independence, to benefit by the economic progress, SCINTEIA winds up.

RCP Message to Zaire Party Congress

AU1705193488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1857 GMT 17 May 88

["Message of the CC of the RCP to the Congress of the People's Revolutionary Movement of Zaire"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Kinshasa, AGERPRES, 17/5/1988—On May 17, Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, read the message sent by the CC of the Romanian Communist Party and the party general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, to the congress and the founding chairman of the People's Revolutionary Movement of Zaire.

On behalf of the RCP and its general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, the participants in the congress and all Zairean citizens were conveyed a warm friendly salute.

Highlighting with great satisfaction the fine relations of friendship and collaboration that develop between the two parties, countries and peoples on the basis of mutual esteem and respect, the speaker showed that a fundamental contribution to the growth of those links had been made by the meetings between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Mobutu Sese Seko, by their talks and by the agreements they reached, which went down as moments of reference in the development of bilateral ties, in the interest of the Romanian and Zairean peoples, of the cause of international peace and collaboration. The message expresses the belief that, through joint actions, further ways and possibilities will be identified to translate into fact the understandings reached at top level, to further expand the framework of bilateral relations in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields, as well as in other areas of mutual interest.

Underscoring the special attention Romania pays to the course of the international life, its active participation in and contribution to the establishment of a lasting climate of security, collaboration and peace in the world, the message shows that action should be taken for the conclusion of further accords providing for the liquidation of nuclear weapons, the cessation of nuclear tests and of outer space militarization, the elimination of chemical arms and the reduction of conventional weapons.

Romania militates consistently for the settlement of all interstate litigations by political means, through negotiations alone, the message reads, pointing out that the RCP and the Romanian head of state consider that a definitive end should be put to the policy of interference in the domestic affairs of other states, that each people's right to freely and independently choose its own political, economic and social development path should be observed.

Highlighting that the Romanian people has always shown its support to and active solidatity with the fight fought by the peoples in Africa for the abolition of colonialism and neocolonialism, for the consolidation of national independence and their free development on the road of economic and social progress, the message reads: We support the Namibian people's just liberation fight, under SWAPO leadership, for Namibia's independence. We blame the apartheid policy of the racist regime in South Africa and we demand an end to any repressive actions against the majority population in that country, to the hostile acts taken against independent and sovereign neighbouring states.

The message shows that Romania militates for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, for the equitable resolution of the foreign debt problem, which is an ever heavier burden to the developing countries.

The settlement of the complex issues facing mankind calls for the fully equal participation in the international of all the states, more particularly of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing and non-aligned countries, the message of salute shows in conclusion.

Leaders' Public Appearances 8-14 May

AU1505143888 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 8-14 May period (sourceline given in parenthesis):

On 9 May, the following officials attended wreath-laying ceremonies on the anniversary of the proclamation of Romania's state independence: Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca, Constantin Olteanu, Nicolae Giosan, Vasile Milea, Tudor Postelnicu, and Radu Balan at the Memorial of the Heroes of the Struggle for the Freedom of the People and Fatherland and for Socialism, at the Memorial of the Heroes of the Fatherland, and the Memorial of the Soviet Heroes, in Bucharest; and Gheorghe Radulescu, and Constantin Radu, at the Cemetery of British Soldiers, in Tincabesti.

On 10 May, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu welcomed Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his wife on arrival in Bucharest (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0852 GMT 10 May); attended a ceremony at which Nicolae Ceausescu was awarded the Lenin Order by Gromyko (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1857 GMT 10 May); accompanied Gromyko and his wife to a concert in Bucharest (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1956 GMT 10 May); on 11 May, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu gave an official dinner in honor of Andrey Gromyko (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1857 GMT 11 May); and on 14 May, they saw Andrey Gromyko off when he departed from Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1122 GMT 14 May).

On 10 May, President Nicolae Ceausescu and USSR's Andrey Gromyko began official talks (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1738 GMT 10 May).

On 11 May they resumed their official talks (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1354 GMT 11 May); and visited socioeconomic units in Bucharest (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1455 GMT 11 May).

On 12 May, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrey Gromyko continued official talks (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 12 May); and on 13 May they ended their official talks (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 13 May); and signed a joint Romanian-Soviet communique on Gromyko's visit (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1847 GMT 13 May).

On 14 May, President Nicolae Ceausescu received Iraqi Oil Minister Isam 'Abd al-Rahim al-Jalabi (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0929 GMT 14 May).

On 11 May, Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government, met with Andrey Gromyko (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1756 GMT 11 May).

On 8 May, Nicolae Constantin, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, met with Elazar Granot, general secretary of the MAPAM Party of Israel, in Tel Aviv (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1559 GMT 8 May); on 9 May, he presented the RCP message to the MAPAM Congress in Tel Aviv (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0856 GMT 9 May) and was received by Shim'on Peres, chairman of the Israel Labor Party (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1414 GMT 9 May); on 11 May, he was received by Yitzhaq Shamir, prime minister of the State of Israel (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1329 GMT 11 May).

On 9 May, Ion Dinca, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and deputy prime minister of the government, attended a CSSR Embassy reception on the anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascist domination (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1738 GMT 9 May).

On 9 May, Ioan Ursu, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and first vice chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, signed a scientific cooperation protocol with the PRC (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1819 GMT 9 May).

On 11 May, Ion Stoian, candidate member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, accompanied Andrey Gromyko on a visit to Ploiesti (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 12 May).

On 13 May, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly met with Andrey Gromyko (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 13 May);

On 13 May, Major General Stefan Gusa, deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff, met with DPRK President Kim Il-song in Pyongyang (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1754 GMT 13 May).

Poland's Premier Messner Pays Official Visit

Arrives in Belgrade

LD1905093688 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0835 GMT 19 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 19 (TANJUG)—Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner arrived here today on a three-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia, at the invitation of Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic.

Talks between the two prime ministers will focus on the strengthening of bilateral cooperation, primarily economic, and on some international questions of common interest.

Met by Mikulic

LD1905093288 Warsaw PAP in English
0840 GMT 19 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 19—Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner arrived here today for a three-day official friendly visit to Yugoslavia paid at the invitation from President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council Branko Mikulic.

Messner, accompanied by his wife, was greeted at the Belgrade airport by Prime Minister Branko Mikulic and wife.

Opens Talks With Mikulic

LD1905104388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0835 GMT 19 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 19 May (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic and Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner today started their talks. The talks will largely concentrate on the development of bilateral, in particular economic, relations between Yugoslavia and Poland.

Messner began his 3-day official and friendly visit to the SFRY today.

Mikulic and Messner will devote particular attention to the search for ways to overcome certain difficulties, which over the last 2 years have become evident in economic cooperation between the two countries. Poland is among Yugoslavia's most important foreign trade partners, and this year's overall trade volume is expected to amount to $856 million.

The two premiers are also expected to discuss international topics of common interest.

CPSU'S Nikonov Pays Official Visit

Received by Korosec

LD1605183788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG)—Stefan Korosec, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, had talks today with Viktor Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Yugoslavia as a guest of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Vukasin Loncar, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, also took part in the talks.

The relations and cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU and between the two countries, based on well-known and jointly established principles, were highly appraised on both sides. It was stressed that a strong impetus was given to the development of overall bilateral relations on these bases by the recent successful visit to Yugoslavia by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

In the talks, there was an exchange of information on current preoccupations in the domestic sphere in the two countries, especially in light of the preparations for the forthcoming conferences of the LCY and the CPSU. Particular attention was paid to agricultural policy in the SFRY and the USSR and the place of agriculture in the reforms of the economic system of Yugoslavia and the USSR. It was noted that in this sphere there is significant scope for improving bilateral cooperation.

During his stay in our country, Viktor Nikonov will visit the Novi Sad International Agricultural Fair and facilities at the Osijek agricultural complex.

Meets With Krunic

LD1805105488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0952 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 May (TANJUG)—Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium has received Viktor Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Yugoslavia to visit the agricultural fair in Novi Sad.

In their talks, they positively assessed the relations and cooperation between the two countries and between the LCY and the CPSU, and broad possibilities for their further development in all areas were noted. Particular attention was paid to the advancement of bilateral and mutually advantageous cooperation in the agro-industrial complex.

Nikonov, who has responsibility in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo for agricultural issues, conveyed his positive impressions about the development of this area in Yugoslavia and our economic organizations' technical and technological capabilities. He said that in recent years Yugoslavia had become a form of school for organizers of agricultural production in the USSR.

Information was also exchanged on the current activities of the LCY and the CPSU in the internal sphere, particularly in connection with preparations for their party conferences. Taking part in the talks were Stanislav

Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Viktor Maltsev, Soviet ambassador to the SFRY.

Local Border Trade With Albania Discussed
LD1305201588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0929 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Albania are giving new impetus to mutual cooperation—a text of the first agreement on local border trade has been coordinated in late April. A new 220-kilowatt-strong long-distance electric power transmission line pipeline between the hydro-electric power plant Fierza in Albania and the Yugoslav power station in the town of Prizren was at the same time put into operation.

Several months ago the Yugoslav tourist agency Kompas of Ljubljana received a special licence to advertise Albania's unspoiled nature. A Yugoslav tourist group has already visited Albania in Kompas' arrangement.

Albanian new leadership's pragmatic policy is obviously bringing innovations in its trade with the world.

Albania will, for the first time this year, introduce local border trade with its neighbors. An Albanian-Greek agreement on local border trade was signed during Albanian Foreign Minister Reiz Malile's recent visit to Greece.

Enver Hoxha's successors are paving a path toward the world through the neighboring countries, although Albania's relations with them were strained during most of the post-war period. The first concrete manifestations of Tirana's more pragmatic Balkan policy were the promotion of its relations with Athens and its participation in a multilateral gathering for the first time—the Balkan meeting.

Economic interests in the new orientation undoubtedly have a special role at a time when Albania, a "country not knowing the meaning of the word 'crisis'" is having an increasingly difficult time in solving its economic problems.

Yugoslav-Albanian local border trade, as officially announced, is to amount to 20 percent of the value of the two countries' trade exchange last year which stood at 63 million dollars.

In addition to considerable quantities of electrical power, Yugoslavia imports chromium from Albania (last year it imported 110,000 tonnes). Albania in return imports Yugoslav goods—and it is often in the case of Yugoslavia's favorable trade balance that Albania does not take over certain contracted Yugoslav products.

Yugoslavia last year imported 32.8 million dollars worth of goods from Albania while its exports to Albania stood at 23.4 million dollars. Yugoslavia's rendered services to Albania stood at seven million dollars last year.

According to the trade protocol, the volume of the Yugoslav-Albanian trade is to reach 92 million dollars this year.

Milosavljevic on Support for Frontline Efforts
MB1705064588 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] The Yugoslav Government supports the efforts by Angola and the rest of the Frontline States aimed at ending the southern African conflict. This statement was made in Yugoslavia a few days ago by Milos Milosavljevic, the vice president of the Yugoslav Government, who, at a meeting with an Angolan delegation, defended the need for Namibia's independence and the abolition of the apartheid system in South Africa. The Yugoslav official stressed on the occasion the importance of the negotiations currently under way with a view to finding a just and peaceful solution for the southern African conflict.

The Angolan delegation, led by Angolan Finance Minister Augusto Teixeira de Matos, was briefed on Yugoslavia's participation at the international conference for emergency assistance for Angola, beginning in Geneva today. The meeting to be attended by delegates from 60 countries, will be held under the auspices of the United Nations.

Leaders Send Messages on CSSR National Day

Krunic Greets Jakes
AU1505143588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 88 p 4

[TANJUG report on greetings by Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary]

[Text] On behalf of the Presidium and on his own behalf, Bosko Krunic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, has sent a telegram on the occasion of CSSR National Day to Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, expressing his cordial congratulations and best wishes for the further successful socialist development of the country and for the prosperity of the CSSR peoples.

Mikulic Congratulates Strougal

AU1305064788 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May p 2

[TANJUG report]

[Text] On the occasion of CSSR National Day, FEC President Branko Mikulic has sent CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal congratulations and best wishes for the continued prosperity of Czechoslovakia. The telegram expresses the belief that friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries will continue to develop and increase on an equal footing in the interest of peace, socialism, and international cooperation.

Mikulic's Speech Termed 'Politically Pragmatic'

AU1805161788 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 May 88 p 1

[Srdjan Spanovic commentary: "Assembly Division"]

[Text] The SFRY Assembly should not be the place where, instead of reasoning, people use insinuations and unfounded imputations, where there are divisions among delegates, and where one reckons with irrationality instead of achievements. This was the approach that Branko Mikulic and FEC members took to the weekend session of the federal parliament, not even shrinking from disparaging members of the country's highest political representative body.

In such an atmosphere Branko Mikulic also gave his view of the divisions in the country. According to him, the result now is in the ratio of 6 to 2, where the minority are Croatia and Slovenia, the most developed Yugoslav republics. And, according to Mikulic, all the others are on the other side! Leaving aside the question of whether or not the FEC president decided himself to make such a statement or he had somebody else's support in this, one must say that the statement would hardly withstand the test of just a little better presented argument. The SFRY Assembly delegates who represent this minority that was picked out and put in the dock have to some extent expressed their opinion. It is clear, however, that with this statement "garnished" with the above-mentioned approach and behavior of government representatives, one could not help but be reminded of the Latin saying "Divide and conquer"! This was by no means politically wise at this moment when everybody agreed to the new economic policy, which will cause a lot of headaches and problems for everybody when we already have so many—real and invented—divisions and opposites in Yugoslavia. It was, however, politically pragmatic in its basic aim: to enable the government to have another opportunity to finally implement what it decided on in words and which the delegates endorsed.

However, one should say here that this division is actually invented, that it is the result of someone's political needs. For there are many collectives in Slovenia and Croatia too that the market will eliminate. These communities also have many collectives that are "favorites of the state" which that state—because of its "political pedigree and origin" and its fear of admitting the existence of poor investments—dedicatedly helps cover losses and helps push through delegate bodies various concessions that only postpone or prolong their agony. Those people who—just as the FEC has been doing so far—support the integral market and advocate implementation of the 13th LCY Congress conclusions only in words and act completely opposite in practice do have influence in Slovenia and Croatia too. These two republics—their public and political forums—also do not lack those people who support democracy and democratization, but only as long as those remain in theoretical dissertations and text books, those people who are consistent in demanding responsibility, albeit other people's responsibility. It happens in these two republics too that successful people are not always appreciated.

It would also be unrealistic to say that everybody in the "majority part" is on the side of the FEC, that is, supports administrative measures. It is hard to believe that the Federal Government does not know that there are a number of collectives in Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and other republics and provinces that have long been exposed to market competition and to which administrative measures only create problems. One can learn from the newspapers that directors of many successful collectives in these communities often say that they meet with fewer problems in the world market than in their own country where their every move is followed by many bans and piles of paper. How is one to explain that the blindness that prevents one from seeing (or is it that he does not want to see?!) that all the successful do not belong only to two republics, just as all the unsuccessful do not belong to the remaining four republics and two provinces and that not everybody within a republic or province thinks along the same lines.

The orientation that reasoning should prevail in adopting political stances, that the market should be the regulator of economic trends, that one should be responsible for what he has done or failed to do—which must become a prevailing approach—had to be proved and confirmed and will have to be confirmed in practice all the time in Croatia and Slovenia too. It is much more difficult to behave like that than to turn to administration and centers of power with whose favor one comes to a more favorable position. Life and political practice show that such an approach is not so alien to the other Yugoslav communities as it may seem to the Federal Government. If new economic policy is implemented consistently, then such an approach should become a regular feature to everybody.

Discussion on FEC Confidence Vote 'Tolerant'

AU1805155588 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 May 88 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Branko Podobnik: "The Background to the Motion of Confidence"]

[Text] The nature of the discussion in the SFRY Assembly on the motion of (non)confidence in the FEC was such that no assembly could be ashamed of. It was predominantly tolerant, reasoned, without boring monologues, and it contained direct dialogue. The government defended its position or rather, it enhanced it even more, and those who wanted to express their lack of confidence were not defeated. The majority simply trusts that the FEC is capable of assuming chief responsibility for the implementation of the announced economic reform. Together the delegates and the government members went through a baptism by fire during the direct debate on the responsibility for the grave position of Yugoslavia. Another taboo fell in the Assembly, and every side got a lesson: The FEC now knows that it cannot play games with the delegates and that more than previously, it will have to be, more than previously, accountable to the Assembly whose executive organ it is; and on the basis of unpleasant experience, the delegates have also learned that they must not just simply believe the government and must not adopt inadequately prepared laws and regulations by urgent procedure.

These statements should be a lesson to all: to the government, that it must no longer propose incompletely thought-out measures; to the Assembly, that it must not adopt such measures any more; and to all the others, that they must implement what has been adopted. The practice in which delegates "easily" voted "in favor," but that republics and provinces did not implement what was adopted has also contributed to the deterioration of the situation in the country in the past 2 years. We see the motion of confidence in the FEC as giving it another chance, but not as an expression of satisfaction with its work so far.

Slovene Daily Questions Democratic Centralism

AU1805193488 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
11 May 88 p 8

[Boris Jez commentary: "Between the Minority and the Majority in the LC"]

[Text] The Yugoslav party conference will undoubtedly again push to the fore the "eternal" question of internal relations between the majority and the minority, and between the individual and the organization. In addition to the, so to speak, daily conflicts generated by the practice of democratic centralism, the possibility exists that the conference, by a majority vote, will "negate" some of the conclusions of the preceding republican conferences. The entire party membership of a republic would thus find themselves in the peculiar position of a minority, and that would intensify the Yugoslav party dilemmas about this question.

It seems that this question is still under a peculiar psychological burden of the workers movement following 1903, when the Russian Social Democratic Party split into the Bolsheviks (bolshe means bigger) and the Mensheviks (menshe means smaller). Until Lenin's death, various currents of different thinking were still allowed to be active in the Soviet party, but the Stalin dictatorship eliminated all the differences under the cloak of monolithism. Democratic centralism (with the stress on "democratic") was profaned to bureaucratic centralism (with the stress on "centralism"), which in our circumstances, as Dr Ivica Segota thinks, continues to develop into oligarchic centralism. In the opinion of Dr Tomislav Jantol, "the leaders' power" has reached such proportions that we may speak about a split between the party "grass roots" and its "superstructure," the former being powerless and the latter being squeezed between ideological orthodoxy and undiluted pragmatism. In such circumstances, Sartre's thought that democratic centralism is "a horrible weapon in the hands of the leadership against those who think differently" is not completely devoid of weight.

For a time, the Yugoslav circumstances perhaps justified a consistent application of democratic centralism (with the stress on "centralism") because of the fear of factional struggles and their consequences, but the infant years of the revolution passed a long time ago. The very fact that nobody actually knows precisely what the members "think" (considering the decisions frequently imposed by the leadership) makes the ideal scheme of the majority-minority relationship, based on the difference of opinions and on arguments, very relative. Finally, one should frankly face the fact that the majority of the party members in Slovenia think in one way, and in (say) Kosovo in another, which after all is something completely normal. And last, but not least, the majority-minority problem should be studied in the light of the relations between an individual and the organization, for practice shows that an orthodox interpretation of democratic centralism creates more and more split personalities: a person votes in favor of something, and is then forced by party discipline to implement something quite different, which is ethically and morally extremely problematic. "It is a fact," Dr Nenad Kecman writes, "that a person joining the party renounces a part of his moral-political autonomy and becomes a member of a kind of a collective subject...."

It seems that a few days before the Yugoslav party conference these questions, which right now are undoubtedly of crucial importance for the future of the LC, are not even approximately clarified theoretically, which of course is not a good sign. At the Slovene conference, Milan Kucan indeed expressed concern about the possibilities of "group forming" and even "faction activities" in the LC. But, at the same time, he also advocated "political culture, a struggle of opinions, a critical approach, and the responsibility of the members," and thought that we should prevent the disqualification and punishment of Communists that think differently. A few days ago in Zagreb, Marko Orlandic also advocated a "creative role of the minority," but he excluded every possibility of its acting autonomously during the stage of implementing decisions. Differences do not exist in nuances only, but in many respects it seems that they also exist in the understanding of the organizational foundations of the LC, an understanding that overtly displays an increasing rift between its Leninist tradition and the challenge presented by the penetration of the classic democratic "rules of the game" into social activities in general.

The foundations of the relationship between the majority and the minority in the LC will certainly have to be rebuilt practically and theoretically, not only for the sake of "ideological strategy," but also because of "functional requirements," for the present situation does not lead anywhere. The Party must decide whether it will continue to insist on the orthodox interpretation of the principle of democratic centralism (and thus backtrack to the position of a few decades ago), or whether it will completely abolish it (which is not likely), or will finally put the chief stress on the modifier "democratic." It seems that only this last possibility opens up sufficient scope for a creative accord among (differently thinking) Communists in Yugoslavia, although it would, of course, be illusory to expect that an appropriate statutary and organizational solution is, so to speak, plainly to be seen. The stress on "democratic" (centralism) would certainly be an important lever for a gradual transformation of the LC from a party into a movement, and this is not something to be ignored.

Planned Army Intervention in Slovenia Reported

AU1905123588 Paris AFP in English 1144 GMT 19 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 19 (AFP)—The Yugoslav Army drew up a secret plan to intervene in Slovenia that even the country's top leadership did not know about, according to an underground document obtained by AFP Thursday.

The Army planned to undertake large numbers of arrests and to prepare military responses to protest demonstrations, according to the article in MLADINA, the party youth magazine of Slovenia.

The article was banned at the last minute by the government, which said it contained "state secrets."

It was based on a partial stenographic record of the March 29 meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists, Yugoslavia's ruling Communist Party.

The plan was disclosed at that meeting by the Slovene party leader, Milan Kukan. It was apparently aimed at ending liberalisation in Slovenia, the most turbulent of Yugoslavia's republics, where the press is often critical of the Army.

The transcript of the meeting was incomplete and did not disclose whether the military had set a date for their intervention, the MLADINA article said.

Mr. Kukan, who is believed to have stood to lose power in a military action, had argued with the country's leadership that it would have "irretrievable consequences" both inside the country and in its relations with its western partners, according to MLADINA.

Trial of MLADINA Editor Postponed

AU1805105988 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 88 p 8

[TANJUG report: "Trial of MLADINA Editor Postponed"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 May—The trial of Franc Zavrla, responsible editor of MLADINA, over the article "Attention" carried in the seventh issue of the magazine, has been postponed indefinitely.

The responsible editor said at his court appearance today that all the editors of MLADINA, from the chief editor to the column editor, are coauthors of the unsigned article, and that they must also be heard before a final verdict is reached.

Slovene Writers' Theses Termed 'Obsolete'

AU1805110088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 88 p 3

[V.S. report: "Decisions for the Last Century"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 May—The majority of those present at today's discussion, which was organized by the Slovenian LC Central Committee Marxist Center, judged the "Theses on the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia," a body of material compiled jointly by the Slovenian Writers Association and the Slovenian Sociologists Association, as obsolete, and as containing views that would take us back to the last century instead of ahead into the 21st century. Besides the authors, numerous lawyers and workers in the public sector were also present on the platform.

In the opinion of Dr Ciril Ribicic, the proposed theories do not lead Yugoslavia out of its crisis, and offer fresh misunderstandings, suspicions, and conflicts instead of a better future for the Slovenian people. Ribicic also said that issuing a "political statement" about this material would not be in accord with the common struggle to regenerate the LC and democratize society. Today's discussion is therefore welcome as a contribution toward clearing up such questions.

Mikulic Attends International Agricultural Fair

Mikulic Visits Novi Sad Agricultural Fair

AU1605185288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, this afternoon visited an international agricultural fair in Novi Sad where he learned about the achievements and problems of Yugoslav agro-industry. Agriculture must be treated in the same way as the rest of the economy; and, if there are reasons, we should ensure special conditions for it, we should jointly discuss it, the FEC president said in his talk with exhibitors. Nikola Bulatovic reports:

Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, who spent more than 2 hours among food producers at the Novi Sad fair, was informed about the accumulated difficulties in Yugoslav agro-industry, which has been going through bad times for some time now. Mikulic said that he came to the fair to listen and to get a fuller picture of the situation in this branch of the economy. He also announced that a special talk on agriculture will be held at the fair during the week. We want to exchange views with the representatives of agriculture on the May package measures that will be introduced in agriculture.

[Begin Mikulic recording] From what I have heard in the conversation with the producers, and from what I have seen myself, I think that already now we can say that our, as you called it, agro-complex is preparing itself and that in many respects it is already ready to conduct business affairs in market conditions. For us this is very important, considering all the reforms that we are starting this year and that are awaiting us next year. Agriculture and other fields and branches of the economy will find themselves within these market conditions for conducting business affairs. If they [not further specified] are in any way amended or corrected, then we will have to look for compensation for those things that the measures of the economic policy or other instruments decide we should correct in these conditions.

I see that our agricultural equipment and machinery industry has achieved an enviable level, that in fact we can be completely self-sufficient. I can say that I was particularly glad to listen to our comrades from agricultural combines when they spoke about what they plan to do, what they have done so far, and what they will do in applying scientific achievements and scientific research in their own combines and elsewhere. [end recording]

Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, agreed with the view that the burden of high interest rates for strategic products in agriculture should not be borne only by agriculture and food industry. They cannot, Mikulic added, be a warehouse to supply Yugoslav food consumers for 10 or 11 months a year. The FEC President pointed out that prices have been working to the detriment of agriculture for years, and that the parities have been seriously distorted.

Polish Contribution Viewed

LD1605192288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 16 May 88

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 16 May (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic, who today spent more than 2 hours with food producers at the 55th Novi Sad International Agricultural Fair, was told in talks with them about the problems that have accumulated in the Yugoslav agricultural industry, which for a long time now has been suffering through hard times. The FEC president, as he himself said, came to the fair "to listen and get a more complete picture of the situation in this branch" of the economy. He intimated that special talks on agriculture would be arranged for Wednesday [17 May] at the Novi Sad Fair. Federal Government vice presidents and the federal agriculture committee chairman would be participating in them on the FEC's behalf.

We want to exchange views with agricultural representatives on the steps we should introduce into agriculture from the "May package." We intend that agriculture get treatment equal to the rest of the Yugoslav economy. In addition, if there are reasons for some special treatment, we intend to agree on this together, Mikhulic said.

Tomislav Karadzic, the director general of the Subotica-based agros, told the FEC president that this combine, whose feedlots supply 250,000 to 300,000 pigs annually to the market, last year for the first time had losses in livestock breeding.

They come to more than 2 billion dinars and must be covered from crop farming and seed growing. In this way what has been achieved over the years, with the close collaboration of about 10,000 cooperative workers, could be lost. [passage omitted]

The FEC president agreed with the view of director Veljko Simin [of the Sombor Agro-Industrial combine] that the burden of high interest rates for strategic products in agriculture should not be borne by the agriculture and food-processing industry alone. He stressed that agriculture and the food-processing industry could not be the warehouse for up to 10 or 11 months for Yugoslav consumer food supplies. Hence, realistic sources of capital for the material reserves must be secured.

It was also suggested to Mikulic that for years now "the price cutters" have been operating to the detriment of Yugoslav agriculture and that parities have been seriously upset.

FEC President Branko Mikulic examined with special attention the stands of many of the 40 developing countries with which Yugoslavia has been cooperating successfully for many years. For example, referring to trade with India, Mikulic stressed that there is much room to improve this cooperation, something that should be exploited in the period ahead.

One of the countries that has been putting in an appearance on an almost regular basis at the Novi Sad Fair is Poland. At this friendly country's stand, President Mikulic was told about the many years of good cooperation between the two countries. Over the last 2 decades the Poles have exported to the Yugoslav market about 70,000 tractors of various power. This year alone the import of about 2,000 tractors from Poland is planned, while overall trade between the two countries this year should be worth more than $40 million.

'Impressed' With Fair

LD1605193488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 16 May 88

["Branko Mikulic Statement at Novi Sad Agricultural Fair"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Novi Said, 16 May (TANJUG)—This is the 3d year that I have been coming to the Novi Sad International Agricultural Fair, and I am very impressed with what I have seen. We can now talk of the agricultural industry preparing and being ready to conduct its business under market conditions. This is, for us, an exceptionally important recognition, in view of all the reforms we are initiating this year and those awaiting us next year. Agriculture and other branches of the economy should find their places under market business conditions, FEC President Branko Mikulic said. Together with Jon Srbovan, Executive Council president of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, FEC President Branko Mikulic spent somewhat more than 2 hours looking around the Novi Sad Fair.

I have seen, Mikulic added, that our machinery and agricultural equipment industry has reached an envious level. I listened with satisfaction to agricultural combine representatives who discussed what they have done so far and what they will be doing in applying scientific achievements.

I know that there has been much criticism—it continues now, too—of our economic policy. I believe we should look toward the future. As for criticism, and with respect to last year, it seems to me that we have lost sight of some things. We have had a poor year in agriculture—in 1987 there was a drought and hail. All this could not be compensated for by economic measures.

The day after tomorrow, on Wednesday, we will have real talks directly with agricultural representatives to hear their ideas about the measures we will be introducing over the next few days.

Participation by foreign exhibitors, developing countries, and the EEC presence, only shows that the fair has gained a fine reputation, Mikulic stressed.

Visits Hungarian Exhibit

LD1705152988 Budapest MTI in English 1330 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Novi Sad, May 17 (MTI)—Branko Mikulic, president of the Yugoslav Government, viewed the Hungarian Pavilion in the 55th International Agricultural Fair of Novi Sad on Tuesday. He spoke with appreciation of the displays of 19 farms and enterprises, held in the organization of Hungexpo.

A Hungarian National Day was held on Tuesday at the fair. Laszlo Nagy, head of department in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, said: Extensive cooperation has been created in plant cultivation in the framework of Hungarian-Yugoslav agricultural-economic relations. The direct scientific-technical programme covers many areas: 21 themes in plant cultivation, and 5 programmes in food industry. Bilateral food industry cooperation is mainly realized in the framework of economic-commercial relations, by taking reciprocal interestedness into consideration. Hungarian soya and sugar beet is processed in Yugoslav food industry units.

The National Union of Hungarian State Farms, and the agricultural complex of ECE signed an agreement on fishing cooperation at the Novi Sad exhibition. Under its terms, scientific researchers are to work under a joint programme, and technology transfer will also be possible. with international fair?

Loncar Holds Talks With Macedonian Leaders

LD1605195988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Skopje, 16 May (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who is with colleagues, was on a working visit to the SR of Macedonia today in the framework of routine visits to the republics and provinces. The federal secretary had talks in Skopje with the highest-ranking leaders of the republic, Jezdimir Bogdanski, president of the Macedonian Presidency; Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee; Dr Vulnet Starova, president of the Macedonian Assembly; Gligorie Gogovski, president of the republic's Executive Council; Metodi Petrovski, president of the Macedonian SAWP Republican Conference; and Milco Balevski, president of the Republican Committee for International Relations.

A communique on the talks stressed that in the framework of the exchange of views there was discussion of the current international situation and of relations and cooperation between the SFRY and other countries, especially neighbors. In this context, the position and treatment of national minorities in these countries was also discussed. There was also discussion of cooperation with Macedonians living abroad as well as the participation and contribution of the SR of Macedonia in the building and realization of a united Yugoslav foreign policy.

There was also discussion of the involvement and representation of cadres from the SR of Macedonia in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and in diplomatic and consular offices of the SFRY abroad.

Trade Union Initiatives Proposed to Leaders

AU1705192488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 88 p 3

[B.G. report: "To Protect the Workers"]

[Text] Recently, Zvonimir Hrabar, president of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council, sent a letter to Dr Marjan Rozic, president of the SFRY Assembly, Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Branko Mikulic, FEC president.

The letter says:

"Comrade President,

"At its 36th regular session held on 27 April 1988, the Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council discussed the proposed measures for the implementation of the 1988 economic policy after 15 May. It was assessed at the session that endorsement of the proposed measures was necessary to prevent even greater disturbances in the material and social development of the country. Therefore, it was insisted that there be consistency in their implementation and coherence in the contents and dynamics of the measures.

"In line with the proposed measures, the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council particularly puts forward the following initiatives:

"That the SFRY Assembly pass a suitable law that would envisage the firm obligation of the republics and provinces to provide real sources of finance to ensure the material and social security of the economically most threatened categories of working people and citizens and, in this context, to ensure in particular the regular payment of guaranteed personal incomes.

"That the SFRY Assembly oblige the responsible organs of the republics and provinces to provide real sources of finance for compensation, especially for goods and services that most directly influence the standard of living of the most threatened sections of the population.

"That the formulation of a legal basis and prerequisites be carried out, on the basis of which the process of the differentiation of the employed according to the results of work will be started and opportunities created to provide employment more quickly.

"We also present proposals and viewpoints from the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council concerning the draft law on the temporary restriction on the use of that part of social funds allocated for gross personal incomes.

"We ask you, comrade president, to make these initiatives, proposals, and views available to the delegates of the SFRY Assembly, members of the SFRY Presidency, and members of the FEC."

In the aforementioned "proposals and viewpoints," the trade unions emphasize: "that the possibility of paying personal incomes greater than the established nominal growth be introduced into the provisions of the law" for organizations that do better business this year than last year. The proposal is for it to be at least five percent greater than the set limit.

The trade unions then advocate that "the fall in real personal incomes for organizations with positive work and business results should not be greater than 10 percent in relation to the previous year, if that is allowed by business results and the application of the self-managing regulations."

Army 'Unable to Prepare' for Youth Day

AU1305140088 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2547

[M. Petrovic report: "There Is No Room for Speculation"]

[Text] Some time ago, the slightly nervous and, one could say, also occasionally neurotic anticipation caused by the scrapping of the youth relay race and the quandary over a suitable substitute was finally broken with the appearance of at least an outline of the scenario of the traditional celebrations in honor of Youth Day. Only 5 weeks before the final celebration, the public recently received the delayed and perhaps also contentious news that the Federal Commission for Celebrating Youth Day had adopted a scenario for the celebrations on 25 May in the stadium of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] in Belgrade, a scenario unlike any previous one.

After this, another piece of what can be freely called surprising news was transmitted via TANJUG: "For the first time, members of the YPA will not be participating at this year's final Youth Day celebration...."

This was reason enough for us to address the authorities in the Political Administration of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and to ask them, considering the possible different view of the motives behind this decision, what are the basic reasons why the members of the YPA are not participating in the final celebrations?

We were told in the Political Administration that at this moment YPA members were simply unable to prepare themselves properly, as they have done until now, for an appearance at the final celebration. A short period of preparation time would unavoidably require an interruption in the training of many cadets and military school students, which would set a precedent in military practice because, as the authorities emphasized, in all previous preparations, celebration rehearsals have not taken a single hour away from training. Therefore, there has always been sufficient time for adequate preparations without disturbing the rhythm of training, let alone threatening it.

Even if Army members were to prepare for an appearance at the final Youth Day celebrations to the detriment of training, it is hard to believe that they would manage to prepare themselves in a way that is justifiably expected of them in such a short period of time.

However, on the other hand, for the first time in the postwar tradition of marking Youth Day, this year's appearance by YPA members is envisaged without military symbols. The scenario of the final celebration will be without general Yugoslav symbols! Moreover, for the first time since the war, Tito's name and work are not mentioned in the scenario.

If we add the fact that, as things stand at the moment, young people from only three of our towns, that is, three of our republics will be participating in this year's final celebration, then the reasons for the non-participation of YPA members becomes increasingly clear.

We were told at the end of our conversation in the Political Administration of the Federal Secretariat of National Defense that this basic reason (or reasons) for Army members' not appearing as participants in the celebrations in the YPA stadium, does not, however, stop them from doing everything to help in the organization of the event—for accommodation, food, and transport, and other provisions for the final celebrations. It was also stressed that there is no room for speculation as to why uniformed young men will not be appearing in the finale of this year's marking of Youth Day.

Military Exercise Ends 14 May

LD1505165088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 May (TANJUG)—The combined military tactical exercise Krka 88, which continued for several days and involved air force, air defense, the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], and territorial defense units, ended today at an airfield at Cerklje with a paratrooper drop and antiairborne air defense effort. The Krka 88 exercise, organized in line with the exercise plan for this year, demonstrated a high degree of training and integration of all YPA, territorial defense, and civilian protection units from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

During the exercise, other activities related to territorial defense and civilian protection were organized in Brezice, Krsko, Sevnica, Klanjec, and Zapresic; and in some of the municipalities mobilization was also carried out last night.

The conclusion of the Krka 88 exercise was attended by Anez Stanovnik and Ivo Latin, presidents of the presidencies of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and Croatia, respectively; Milan Kucan and Stanko Stojcevic, presidents of the Central Committee Presidia of the LCs of Slovenia and Croatia; Dusan Sinigoj and Ante Milovic, presidents of the Executive Council of Slovenia and Croatia; by Lieutenant Colonel General Anton Tus, Yugoslav Air Force and Air Defense commander; and by several generals, both those on active service and retired ones.

New Regulations for Army Foreign Travel Noted

AU1805120788 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2547 5 May 88 p 5

[Article by Colonel Mitar Tesic: "Going Abroad More Often"]

[Text] A new book of regulations on travel abroad by members of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and their relations with foreign persons was published recently. The regulations contain several new elements that apply to foreign travel and relations with foreigners. On this occasion we will only explain the new regulations that apply to private trips abroad by YPA members, which is, doubtless to say, of special interest to our readers.

The general characteristic of the new regulations is that the opportunities for traveling abroad by YPA members have been extended.

According to the provisions of the previous regulations, persons on active military service were only able to travel abroad privately in specific cases. In addition, the regulations provided for tourist trips on which personnel on active military service could go during their annual leave once in 2 years for 15 days. These restrictions have been scrapped in the new regulations. According to Article 41, senior officers may approve private trips abroad by YPA members during their vacation or approved leave, depending on whether ornot they can leave their duties. This means that personnel on active military service are allowed to make private trips abroad every year during their entire annual leave or other approved leave. There is even a possibility that officers on active service could be permitted to travel abroad several times a year during their annual leave or other approved leave.

According to the old book of regulations, an excursion to other countries was permitted once a year, during nonworking days (provided that it was organized by the YPA centers, or that it was a private arrangement in special cases only). The new regulations do not have restrictions that group excursions should be allowed only once a year. This means that such excursions arranged by the YPA centers, or tourist agencies, or privately, could be made several times a year. They are approved by the sector heads of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, deputy section heads of the General Staff of Yugoslavia's Armed Forces, and commanders of army districts.

The new regulations that apply to private trips abroad by soldiers and cadets are also significant. According to Article 42 of the new book of regulations, soldiers and military school students are allowed to make private trips abroad if they are going to visit members of their close family (parents, brothers, sisters, children, wife), to deal with legal matters concerning their property, undergo medical examination or treatment or accompany an ill member of their family, arrange for the burial of a member of their close family, or attend a sporting or cultural event as an official, member of a delegation or member of a team.

Allowing (soldiers) to travel abroad for the above-mentioned reasons is only meant to be a possibility. However, in the case of those soldiers who came from abroad to do their military service, but whose family is still abroad, private trips for the purpose of visiting family would always be granted during their regular leave, unless there are such reasons as those mentioned in Article 44 on the basis of which such trip could not be permitted. In this way an opportunity is created for soldiers who came from abroad to do their military service to spend their regular leave with their close family (if their family is still abroad), as is the case with other soldiers.

Foreign travel by personnel on active military and soldiers is approved by their military officers holding the posts of division commander, or some other officers of equivalent or higher rank. Approvals for civilian personnel's travels are granted by officers holding the post of regiment commander or other officers holding a equivalent or higher ranking post. In the absence of reasons stated in Article 44, because of which the travel cannot be approved, the above mentioned officers always approve private foreign travel. If the respective officers do not approve such trips, they are obliged to provide a written explanation of their course of action. Only in those cases when an application to travel abroad is rejected on the grounds that there is a need to protect public order or defend the interests of the country do the respective officers not have to state the reasons for their course of action. This provision was taken from Article 43 of the Law on Travel Documents of SFRY Citizens, and therefore the members of the YPA are treated in the same way as other citizens of the SFRY.

The new provisions mentioned above were published in the OFFICIAL MILITARY GAZETTE No 7/88 of 28 April and will go into effect as of 6 May.

Paper Carries Poems on Tito, Waldheim

AU1205133388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Milovan Danojlic, our guest-worker [German word "Gastarbeiter" used] poet in luxurious and wealthy Paris, speaks out in the latest issue of KNJIZEVNA REC, the newspaper of the literary youth of Serbia, with two poems "Full Emptiness" and "K.V." The poems are boxed and published in the top left-hand corner of the front page of the 25 April issue, the issue in honor of the workers holiday and which should have marked the eighth anniversary of the death of Josip Broz Tito. Spomenka Deretic has the details:

In a certain way, the newspaper KNJIZEVNA REC of Serbia paid tribute to the late president with the first poem and has put us in the unenviable position of interpreting what is hidden behind the illusion of words and verses. Not wishing to analyze the poem in an ideological way, we nevertheless have the right to suspect that when he said, and we quote, (?dictatorship) and fake emperor, Danojlic meant Josip Broz. There are many indications of this, particularly in the poem's use of expressions, or to be more precise part of the late Josip Broz's title, president and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, and the addition of "of heaven and earth" is a metaphor that can be interpreted as the ruler of life and death.

It is characteristic that the second poem, boxed together with the first and with the initials K.V. as its title, is most probably dedicated to Kurt Waldheim and is in the form of a verse biography of this politician who, according to Danojlic, is in command of the execution of hostages and peasants during the war in our country. Danojlic presents Waldheim as sly, with a nose for success, and as a man capable of visible servility and vengeful malice. We quote: Simply born for success, he walks easily to the furthest possible point, to receive a decoration from the president of executed hostages and peasants.

Considering that this poetry under the initials is attached to the first one, "Full Emptiness," it cannot be discounted that Milovan Danojlic wanted to draw a comparison between two people. From the mist of verses, we are again compelled to distinguish what seems to be the true contents, but if we have not interpreted the links between the two poems of the guest-worker poet Milovan Danojlic correctly, then we are left with a dilemma, but what if we have?

Because of the possible associations, and we are sensitive even to possible allusions to our sacred things, we ask the KNJIZEVNA REC editorial board why it published these two poems and why particularly in the issue of the beginning of May. Did it not occur to any of the members of the editorial board that in the same KNJIZEVNA REC 7 years ago, Milovan Danojlic stated in defense of Gojko Djogo's banned collection of poems that not all of us have to love the same people. Perhaps the editorial board is forgetful and perhaps it does not know how to interpret allusions, or perhaps it is malicious and perhaps it does not like some people whom the majority of Yugoslavs like.

Nevertheless, with all the reservations that an educated person may have, the misuse of KNJIZEVNA REC leaves a bad taste in one's mouth, because even if 20 or 20,000 people perhaps see Danojlic's poems as an offense to the memory of Josip Broz, they have the right to demand an explanation of KNJIZEVNA REC's editorial policy.

There will of course always be intellectuals who argue that poetry must not be interpreted through associations, but should we not consider a little bitterly that some of us are denied the right to our own skepticism? We must not surrender this right to those who have been slinging mud and verses at us for years.

'Breaches of the Peace' in Kosovo Detailed

AU1005104088 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian
7 May 88 p 1-2

[R. Rugova report: "Complete Modernization of the Provincial Internal Affairs Organs"]

[Excerpts] In the context of the commemoration of 13 May, Security Day, Rahman Morina, secretary of the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs, talked yesterday to journalists accredited to the Kosovo Assembly and the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs about the purpose of the new internal affairs law, the reorganization of the internal affairs organs, their technical equipment and modernization, and the activity and commitment of these organs within the general struggle of progressive forces in Kosovo and beyond to stabilize the political and security situation in the province. [passage omitted]

Rahman Morina also told journalists that since 1981 the internal affairs organs in Kosovo have devoted particular care to cadre training. Since 1981, 2,500 workers have been recruited by these organs, of whom 80 percent are militiamen. But, he concluded, the general effectiveness of these organs is highly dependent upon the effectiveness and organized activity of other social, political, and self-managing authorities, and on the activity of all organized socialist forces.

The provincial secretary of internal affairs informed journalists that 9,600 breaches of the peace and public order were recorded in Kosovo last year, of which 700 occurred between members of different nationalities. Of these 700, 480 were against Serbs and Montenegrins, 130 against Albanians, while the remainder harmed members of both nationalities. Last year, 11,000 criminal acts were committed, or 3 percent more than the previous year. In 6,700 cases, the culprits were unknown. Of these cases, the culprits were subsequently detected in 4,200 or 64.4 percent of cases, which is above average for the SFRY.

Other Types of Nationalism Still Active [subhead]

Rahman Morina further spoke about disciplinary and other measures taken in the course of differentiation and the enforcement of "house rules." Last year, measures were taken against 39 workers of the internal affairs organs because of misdemeanors. Of these cases, 13 involved disciplinary measures, and 9 involved criminal proceedings. Notices of dismissal were served in 9 cases.

In reply to a journalist's question as to how he appraised the general political and security situation in Kosovo at the present time, Rahman Morina said the situation must not be assessed merely by examining the influence of one factor or another, or by the activity of one or another form of nationalism or hostility to our sociopolitical system and constitutional order, but that one must be familiar with the situation as a whole and every factor within it. When we look at the nature of the enemy who has surfaced and is active in Yugoslavia, particularly in Kosovo, we cannot be complacent about the political and security situation in Kosovo, he said. Morina also spoke about Albanian nationalism and irredentism, and about the activity of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism, which is still passing from mouth to mouth. Unacceptable ideas are uttered at gatherings and in public places, slogans are written, etc. These public statements include declarations that are much harsher than the measures we take against them, he said. Rahman Morina insisted on the general unity of the LC and progressive forces in the struggle against all forms of nationalism and against the enemy in all his incarnations. [passage omitted]

Klina Serbs Demand Own Conference Delegate

AU1005095288 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian
7 May 88 p 8

[M. Dragidella report: "Problems Must Be Solved Through the Legal Authorities"]

[Text] Klina, 6 May—Even though the communal authorities had decided that the planned gathering of Serbian and Montenegrin Communists should not be held, this meeting was nevertheless organized for yesterday evening and began after a considerable delay. Before the start of the gathering, there was a diucussion between the Klina LC Communal Committee and representatives of the citizens and the communal leadership, in the course of which Dusan Catovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee, urged that the gathering should not be held, because people's problems, he said, can only be solved through our legal authorities. About 250 people, including noncommunists and some communal leaders, took part in the gathering.

Apart from Communists and citizens from Klina, there were also participants from other areas. Dragomir Pavlovic said that the sale of real estate in Kosovo is financing the counterrevolution, and condemned certain excesses that have occurred recently and that have become more common since the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum. He said that only the state, the Constitution, and the law can help create total security for the Serbs and Montenegrins.

Darinka Popovic was dissatisfied with the industrial plants under construction in Kosovo, because, he said, they are only being built for the Albanians. Petko Izgarevic's speech included insults against the communal leadership. Randjel Stanisic criticized the work of the communal leadership and the Malisgan quarry management, while Bogosav Bacic vilified the public security authorities, saying that "There will be no peace here as long as the Province of Kosovo enjoys its present authority." Savo Mashic objected to the statement of the LC Communal Committee on the gathering of citizens in Berkogo. This speaker said that if the LCY Conference does not accept the delegate they have elected, this delegate will be adopted by all the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo.

Petko Vulic, after talking about the problem of the fire at his house, vilified the communal leadership, and said that the Serbian Assembly is to blame for the entire situation.

Joining the discussion, Dusan Catovic said that he would convey everything that he had heard here to the highest authorities, as he had always done in the past. I agree with all those who say that the situation here is a difficult one, but we cannot say that there have been no efforts in recent years to stabilize the situation. Besides the 13th LCY Congress and the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum, which both examined the Kosovo situation, we now also have the all-Yugoslav program to prevent Serbian and Montenegrin emigration and to encourage the return of those who so desire. Work has been done in the spirit of this program, some new communes have been formed, and factories are being built. Talking about the constitutional changes, he said that they will cover areas where weaknesses and shortcomings have been noticed, while guaranteeing freedom for all the peoples of Kosovo will help prevent Serbian and Montenegrin emigration and will stop the activity of Albanian irredentism. Dusan Catovic said that the LCY Conference is an aspect of the work of the LC, and that the LCY Central Committee has decided the number of delegates and set a representational structure. Your commune has elected a legal delegate, and I therefore cannot agree with your decision to choose your one delegate for this conference. Dusan Catovic concluded by suggesting that a Klina LC Conference should be held, which should inform the LCY Conference of its conclusions.

Rados Bajraktarevic objected to this suggestion and argued with Catovic, saying that the LC Central Committee knows that the situation in Kosovo is a special one, and we should therefore have a special delegate to the Conference." [quotation marks as published] This speaker said that nobody is against Kosovo's autonomy, but "Either Serbia must come to Kosovo or the people will go to Serbia." The gathering concluded by deciding that Dragomir Pavlovic should be the delegate to the LCY Conference, and that, as certain participants said, they did not recognize the delegate elected by the LC Communal Committee.

Kosovo Presidium, Presidency Discusss Security

LD1505093988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1128 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] The political security situation in the province continues to be complex, with a tendency to grow more acute, it was stated at a joint extended session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and the Presidency of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province held yesterday [13 May].

This is caused, it was reported today, by the notably unfavorable socioeconomic situation and the serious situation of the Kosovo economy, which directly reflects on the material position of working people and citizens. The report states that inefficient business activity, low personal incomes, and poor work organization in collectives that are operating at a loss lead to dissatisfaction and to work stoppages.

Albanian nationalism continues to burden the overall situation most, and the consequences of this are particularly felt in the continued emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and a cooling in intranational relations. Although the activity and efficiency of organs and organizations in eliminating the causes and consequences of nationalist escalation from positions of Albanian nationalism have been increased, the Presidium and the Presidency believe that more energetic measures must be taken in order to remove the weaknesses and problems that have accumulated over a long period.

Activity from positions of Serb nationalism has become noticeably more and more recently, says the statement. On behalf of democratic freedoms, "protectors" of Albanian nationality and of the Serb and Montenegrin nations are openly appearing offering "live-saving formulae" to rescue them, whereby the results attained so far are completely underrated and the organized activity of the LC is ignored.

A number of Communists and working people in the environments in which they act, work, and live have not resisted these activities vigoriously enough. They are ill-informed. Many people unwilling to appear as signatories on various petitions, although they themselves do not always know what they are in fact signing, what the unacceptable substance of these petitions is, and what dangers they conceal.

What is particularly worrying, the Presidia believes, is the different yardsticks for the most varied destructive activity and nationalism, although the political stance and the dangers flowing from nationalism are clear. So one gets into the absurd situation where the reactions of Communists who openly point these dangers are frequencly challenged, even from the platforms and in public information media. Virtually all the measures take in the LC to overcome the complex situation are held to be suspect and this leads to further intra-national mistrust.

A solution to the problems of our working people and citizens must be sought and found within the framework of the institutions of the system, socio-political organizations, organs, and communities, and not through other forms of activity, as has been done recently.

The LC leadership and Communists in the socioeconomic organizations, self-management organs, and those holding the most senior offices have, it was stressed, special responsibility and commitment for the situation in their environment. Their activity is required in order to remove the causes leading to excess situation. They must be constant and resolute. In particular, more organized work with young people in all environments is required. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and the Presidency of the Socialist manifestations, and the problems that help create a climate of insecurity and encourage emigration must be eliminated efficiently and responsibly. This must be done by constantly strengthening and enhancing the brotherhood, unity, and socialist togetherness of the working people and citizens of all nations and nationalities, by intensifying reciprocal trust, and by consistently implementing the stands that had been passed. In so doing the ideopolitical situation in all living and working environments must be constantly enhanced, stresses the statement on the session.

Local Kosovo SAWP Voices Serb Grievances

AU1605141488 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 11 May 88 p 2

[R.T. report "Altering the Situation Through Constitutional Changes"]

[Text] The meeting of the Laplje Selo Local Community SAWP Association, attended by Ljuba Popovic, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, was held the evening before last after three unsuccessful attempts to organize it. On the three previous occasions, there were insufficient numbers of people interested, and the meeting was postponed. The Presidium therefore decided that, apart from examining the draft of the constitutional changes, the agenda should include a further item: the local political and security situation. It was this that no doubt attracted more than 400 citizens to the meeting.

The prepared material that was read out as an introductory speech wholly concerned the political and security situation in this district and in Kosovo. It mentioned that more than 50.000 Serbs and Montenegrins have emigrated from Kosovo in the last 7 years, and more than 700 in the first 3 months of this year alone. It stated that individual emigration will not be permitted, and that everybody will either stay here or emigrate together.

Ljuba Popovic, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, spoke about the principal outlines of the constitutional changes, stressing that they will inaugurate changes in the economic and sociopolitical spheres, in relations in the Federation, and in all those areas in which a failure to guarantee further progress in socialist, self-managing relations and in the equality of the peoples and nationalities of the SFRY has been observed.

In the discussion that followed, and which continued late into the night, 15 speakers raised different questions, and offered comments and suggestions on the future constitutional changes and how to change the situation in Kosovo. Ljubinko Miljenovic from Prekovce presented the views adopted by the gathering of citizens from this village on 8 May. After remarking that national states have been created instead of a strong Yugoslav society, and that other areas are now refusing to allow the situation in Kosovo to be pacified, he demanded that everything in the Constitution which, as he put it, is no good, down to the very foundations of the system, should be changed. He also demanded that the SR of Serbia should be like all the other republics in the country, and that its framework should merely include two provinces that will no longer be constituent elements of the Yugoslav Federation. He also demanded that the SFRY president should be elected for a 4-year period and according to his abilities instead of being drawn from different nationalities in turn. He demanded the abandonment of consensus politics, the introduction of referenda, the restoration of the former name of Kosovo-Metohija, and the removal of what he called foreign flags. The question of the use of languages and alphabets should be solved, and the Federation alone should decide foreign policy. Other speakers also concentrated on such demands, connecting the constitutional changes with the political and security situation in Kosovo. The view was expressed that the proposed changes will alter nothing, that everything will be as before, and that the 1974 Constitution is to blame for reducing the Serbian and Montenegrin population to such a lamentable position, and so forth.

Slobodan Stojkovic stressed that this has become a state of immigrants, and that we masters of the household have come to feel like foreigners. Those who do not feel themselves to be Yugoslavs should find another state, because there is plenty of room in the world. Savo Lekic leveled accusations and insinuations against some Kosovo leaders, and then asked why not a single Serb has emigrated from Albania, while thousands of Albanian immigrants have done so, not escaping, but arriving here according to a plan and with definite aims in mind. Predrag Lazic observed that all citizens cannot enjoy their full rights if the SR of Serbia does not enjoy full rights throughout its territory. Mladen Zdravkovic observed that the separatists and Ballists had demanded a republic at the time of the first constitutional amendments, and that we must insist upon the repudiation of the 1974 Constitution. The people have emigrated from here, and only a part of them remains. We will not permit further emigration, because this is the cradle of the Serbian people. The Serbian people gave 3 million victims in the two world wars, but we will give more if need be. According to Rade Krstic, the 1974 Constitution did great damage to Serbia as a state, and plunged the Serbian and Montenegrin people into mourning.

Zika Mitrovic, secretary to the Pristina LC Communal Committee, observed that the purpose of the discussion was to listen to what the masses, the working people, and citizens had to say. The ninth LCY Central Committee plenum had not met the demands of the Serbs and Montenegrins, because emigration is still continuing. Sufficiently energetic measures to prevent it have not been forthcoming, and these must now be undertaken through programs that express the dissatisfaction that is evident over cadre policy. A statement will be issued about this soon, with the aim of overcoming the situation that has arisen. There is no need for the pessimism that has been expressed here. Zika Mitrovic dissociated himself from some of the speeches that vilified certain cadres.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Petition [subhead]

During the meeting, a petition addressed to the highest SFRY and SR of Serbia party bodies and signed by the citizens of Laplje Selo passed from hand to hand among those present and came into the hands of journalists. This 4-page position included a consideration of the local situation and made definite demands. Other pages included the names of those signing and the size of their families. [End of boxed item]

Kosovo Writers Postpone Relations Symposium

AU1605141588 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 13 May 88 p 11

["Communique of the Kosovo Writers Association Presidium—Writers' Symposium Postponed"]

[Text] The Kosovo Writers Association Presidium has been informed about the discussion of Albanian and Serbian writers on the topic of "Serbs and Albanians in Yugoslavia Today," which took place in Belgrade on 26 and 27 April, and has been told that the group of writers from Kosovo that took part in this discussion is prepared to continue it.

We believe that these discussions have exhibited the willingness that exists among writers to abandon the monologues that have dominated the discussion up until now, to overcome the monopolization of explanation and judgment of the theme under discussion, and to promote a dialogue, as they have have often publicly stated.

We stress that the one-sided and negative views expressed in this discussion, portrayed in some media as a continual monologue on the writers' part, have led to especially one-sided appraisals of the contributions of Albanian speakers. It is being forgotten that dialogue, among writers at least, can only be truly democratic if it is a discussion among free and equal persons, who are required to agree only on truths that can be factually demonstrated and that are the sole guarantee of mutual understanding, trust, and true mutual respect between individuals and peoples.

Meanwhile, it is a fact that some connotations awoken by this symposium have led to definite nonintellectual and nonliterary circumstances that objectively complicate a successful continuation of the discussions.

Kosovo Press Views National Polarization

AU1705073788 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 11 May 88 p 7

[Gani Bajrami article: "Blind Destructiveness"]

[Text] Certain excesses that have taken place in recent days in certain areas of Kosovo, in their motives and aims, the reactions they have prompted, and in their consequences for intranational relations, have rightly attracted the attention not only of progressive forces, but also of working people and citizens. As such, these excesses encumber the already fraught political situation. Their obvious aim is to chill intranational relations even further, to deepen intranational polarization and distrust, to encourage Serbian and Montenegrin emigration, to hinder at every step the enforcement of party decisions to stabilize the Kosovo situation, and thus to draw attention to the view that there can supposedly be no stability in Kosovo without a policy of a "strong hand," which would suspend the province's autonomy and its legal authorities. It is for these reasons that these excesses deserve more detailed analysis and demand more vigorous measures for their prevention.

If the intranational excesses and other nationalist and hostile incidents that have taken place in the last 2 weeks alone are analyzed, one can easily gain the impression that they were devised in order to provoke discontent and a reaction among working people and citizens, to cause worry and uncertainty, to distract the attention of the LC and other progressive forces from fundamental problems of work and life and from activity to stabilize the general situation in Kosovo. Let us recall some of these excesses:

Three or four attacks on members of the Serbian nationality in Istok Commune were taken as the cause for the Serb and Montenegrin protest meeting in Istok on 27 April. At this meeting, a group of citizens from Kosovo Polje, Klina, and other places in Kosovo was also present. Besides the discontent at genuine problems that was expressed there, there were also many unacceptable demands and threats of mass emigration. Three days later, on 30 April, hostile slogans were written and pamphlets from positions of Albanian nationalism were distributed in three local communities in Podujevo Commune. There were also slogans and incidents of this kind before and during the May Day holiday in Gniljane Commune. The May Day holiday did not pass without incident. The state flag and the flag of the Albanian nationality were vandalized in the village of Muzac in Urosevac Commune, and the state, party, and Albanian nationality flags were thrown to the ground in Gacka. The perpetrators of these hostile acts have not yet been identified. On the following day, in the village of Tomance near Kamenica, an unknown person removed the flags from the school, threw the state, party, and SR of Serbia flags to the ground, and removed the flag of the Albanian nationality to a distance and burned it. On 2 May, at the protest meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins in the village of Berkovo near Klina, apart from unacceptable demands, there was the ultimatum: "If they take measures against Momo Pumpalovic, we will organize a work and school boycott by all the Serbian and Montenegrin workers and schoolchildren in Kosovo." Only 2 days later, on 4 May, Borislav Jovanovic, who has already been sentenced for misdemeanors in connection with incidents from the position of Serbian nationalism and anti-Albanian chauvinism, removed the flag of the SR of Serbia from the post office building in the village of Duhel near Suva Reka and burned it.

Such excesses and other incidents make the Kosovo situation a paradoxical one, since, on the one hand, the mobilization, activity, and willingness of Communists and other progressive forces to meticulously carry out the duties and obligations before them are increasing, while on the other hand there is more opposition and effort on the part of destructive forces that are nationalist to the point of blindness. Besides, the tense atmosphere that accompanied the preparations for the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum and the plenum itself has persisted with greater or lesser intensity throughout the enforcement of the plenum's conclusions. The predictions of a "hot political spring" voiced in Kosovo Polje at the beginning of this year have started to become a reality.

The activity of Albanian nationalism, through its hostile slogans and intranational excesses, is also a response to the activity of the LC in stabilizing the Kosovo situation. In response to this nationalism and the excesses it gives rise to, Serbian and Montenegrin protest meetings continue, and assume other characteristics, because they do not remain simply protests against Albanian nationalism and its excesses. Some individuals, well known for their destructive activity, can hardly wait for these gatherings, probably play an important part in organizing them, and use them to broadcast their own unacceptable views and theories. In this way, they greatly influence the arousal of nationalist euphoria at these gatherings, whose consequence is national hatred and distrust of the Albanians. It seems truly tragic when emotional speeches full of rage and hatred against the Albanians and their culture and traditions are greeted with approving applause by a large section of those present. The failure of Serbian and Montenegrin Communists, and even some cadres present at these gatherings, to dissociate themselves from unacceptable statements seems only to embolden the now-familiar "orators" to press forward further each time with their destructive demands and their dangerous manipulation of the Serbian and Montenegrin population, which could have unforeseen consequences for our multinational community. Recent days also merit consideration for a further reason: The Presidia of the action conferences of two Kosovo Polje local communities insisted that they should have their own delegate to the LCY Conference in the person of Miroslav Solovic. The Pristina LC Communal Committee, on the basis of its assessments, recently proposed should that he be called to face his ideopolitical responsibility. Two or three days later, the protest meeting at Berkovo near Klina supported the same demand. On 5 May, the gathering of Communists and citizens at Klina, that was also attended by people from other parts of the province, "elected its own delegate to the LCY Conference" on the grounds that it could not accept the legal delegate chosen by the party communal authorities, and also demanded the acceptance of its own delegate by the LCY Central Committee with the ultimatum that "if he is not accepted, then the LCY Central Committee will have to have to accept all the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo as delegates!"

The demand for delegates of this kind is not merely a result of the tendency for national polarization in the Kosovo LC, or a kind of political partnership, but can have other implications. It is quite unacceptable that somebody who has been adopted as a delegate by communal party authorities should on principle be considered suspicious and with hostile inclinations. The Kosovo and Serbian LCs and the LCY must vigorously combat such tendencies, in order to prevent national polarization in the LC, which would be disastrous for the vanguard of the workers class.

Croatian LC Presidium Elects New Leaders

LD1805100988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0809 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Zagreb, 18 May (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, in a secret vote with a choice of several candidates, the Presidium elected Stanko Stojcevic as its president and Dragutin Dimitrovic as secretary.

In accordance with the statute of the LCY and the Croatian LC, they will carry out these duties in the following 2-year period of mandate.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Member Elected

LD1405142188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0921 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 14 May (TANJUG)—At the beginning of today's session of the Federal Chamber, Emina Zaimovic was relieved of her duty as delegate to this Assembly Chamber due to taking up a new office. She has recently been elected member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Macedonian CC Presidium Leaders Elected

LD1305221788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Skopje, 13 May (TANJUG)—Jakov Lazoroski and Mihail Danev were today re-elected president and secretary, respectively, of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Pesidium. They gained the support of the Macedonian LC Central Committee at today's report-back session and were elected at the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium session which was held immediately after the Macedonian LC Central Committee Session.

Members of Presidium Elected

LD1305221288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Skopje, 13 May (TANJUG)—The Macedonian LC Central Committee at today's session elected four new members to the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium. They are: Boris Andonovski, Risto Lazarov, Zurap Limani, and Mile Sapkalievski.

The newly elected members of the Presidium are replacing Miljaim Fejzi, who was relieved of his duties following the well-known case in the village of Raven, the late Stevan Georgijevski, Metodi Petrovski, who is taking up another office, and Marica Georgievska, who will be retiring.

Briefs

New Slovene Officials

Ljubljana, 6 May (TANJUG)—The Slovene Assembly declared Janez Stanovnik the new president of the republican Presidency. Miran Potrc was elected the new president of the Slovene Assembly and Joze Knez and Aleksandar Ravnikar the new vice presidents. [Summary] [*AU1505181788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7-8 May 88 p 1 AU*]

New Montenegro Officials

The Presidency of Montenegro today elected Bozina Ivanovic the new president of the Presidency, while the Montenegrin Assembly elected Velisav Vuksanovic as president, and Bozidar Tadic as vice president of the Assembly. Vuko Vukadinovic was elected president of the republican Executive Council. [Summary] [*AU1505181888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7-8 May 88 p 1 AU*]

New Bosnian Officials

The Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina today elected by a secret ballot Sabrija Pojskic and Mirko Puljic vice presidents of the republican Executive Council. Fadil Kreho was the third candidate. [Text] [*AU1505181988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 88 p 3 AU*]